

**An Economic Development Strategy for Mission Hill:
A HOPE VI Initiative**

by

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A HOPE VI INITIATIVE

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Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning
on May 22, 1996 in partial fulfillment of the
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ABSTRACT

In August 1993, the Boston Housing Authority (BHA) was awarded \$50 million from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) in Urban Revitalization Demonstration (URD) monies for a proposal to thoroughly renovate its Mission Main public housing development in Roxbury. Under the guidelines of the HOPE VI program, recipient public housing authorities are free to design their own revitalization agenda, ideally fashioning uniquely local solutions to suit local contexts. The indigenous authorities make their own trade-offs between different possible approaches to revitalization such as physical reconstruction, management and security improvements, the provision of social services, and the introduction of economic development initiatives. This thesis attempts to address the basic, operational issues inherent to the BHA's effort to fashion and realize HOPE VI URD economic development goals.

Although implementation efforts have concentrated on property development and the provision of social and community services, this thesis argues that economic development activities, the least developed of the Boston URD, are central to the stated goals of revitalization. Furthermore, only through the aggressive pursuit of economic development strategies can the revitalization effort reach the level of comprehensiveness stressed in the URD grant application. In addition, the renovation of the site provides the entire Mission Hill community with an enormous resource on which to build a greater neighborhood development effort. In order to realize this potentially synergistic relationship, some entity, formulated through HOPE VI resources, should be in charge of fostering relationships and facilitating collaboration. This study explores the following economic development models as potential HOPE VI initiatives: job readiness and placement clearinghouse; small-scale commercial strip development along Tremont Street; and technical assistance to Mission Hill entrepreneurs. Ultimately the concern of this study is to identify the sources of leadership, opportunities, resources and organizational capacity to sustain these activities at different phases of the renovation process. Another study goal is to develop an understanding of how the transition of leadership in this area from the BHA to another organization may be realized.

Because of the complexities associated with program design itself and with the realities of limited funding, the greatest gains toward diversifying the range of URD-initiated economic development strategies will come from investing in the infrastructure to maintain programmatic continuity beyond the demonstration project years. Only by aggressively pursuing economic development strategies through a well-developed vision, can the URD achieve the level of comprehensive renovation stressed in the proposal. Therefore, the BHA should focus on utilizing available funds where it is essential to building the infrastructure that will survive beyond the five years of HOPE VI demonstration programming, and not exclusively toward service contracting. The role of the BHA in this endeavor should be one of facilitation and coordination in the program development phase.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

I Introduction	
Study Design	7
Significance of Study	8
Economic Development for Mission Main and Mission Hill	9
II The Boston HOPE VI Urban Revitalization Demonstration Program	
The Boston Housing Authority: History and Operations	14
The HOPE VI Mission Main URD Program: 1993 and 1996	17
BHA/HOPE VI Institutional Capacity and URD Implementation Progress	22
Implications for Economic Development Program Design	27
III Key Institutional Factors	
A. Capacity of the BHA in Service Coordination and Delivery	30
B. BHA Relations with Tenants and Tenants' Contributions to the Implementation Process	33
C. The Tension Between Current Pressures and the Need for Longer Term Planning	40
URD Implementation Implications	41
IV Institutional Requirements of Proposed Economic Development Program Models	
The Significance of Economic Development Initiatives to the Revitalization Effort	46
Managing Expectations	48
Economic Development Models: Short and Long Term Action	
A. Job Training and Clearinghouse Program Components	49
B. Commercial Strip Development	57
C. Technical Assistance to Mission Main Entrepreneurs	62
URD Implementation Implications	65
V. Conclusions and Recommendations	
The URD Proposed Organizational Plan for Economic Development	66
Preliminary Implementation Steps	68
Appendices	
A. List of Interviews	72
B. Boston Housing Authority Urban Revitalization Demonstration Program Organization Plan	74
Bibliography	75

List of Figures:

3-1. Sector Employment of Mission Main Residents: 1980-1995	35
5-1. Proposed URD Organizational Plan for Economic Development	65
Appendix B.	
Boston Housing Authority, Urban Revitalization Demonstration Program Organizational Plan	74

List of Maps:

2-1. Mission Hill District	18
2-2. Mission Hill District Concept Plan	21
2-3. Mission Main Site Redevelopment: Concept Plan A	25
4-1. The Ledge Site: Site Plan	60

List of Tables:

3-1. The Employed at Mission Main and Orchard Park	34
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I Introduction

The HOPE VI Urban Revitalization Demonstration (URD) program was developed by the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to provide troubled public housing authorities nationwide with large, flexible grants. These allocations are designed to affect multi-faceted, locally-driven revitalization efforts through the relaxation of federal oversight in local implementation procedures. HOPE VI monies can be used on any number of sites under the purview of the awarded public housing authority to fund physical renovation, support services provision and/or economic development strategies. In August 1993, the Boston Housing Authority (BHA) was awarded \$50 million from HUD in URD monies for a proposal to thoroughly renovate its Mission Main public housing development in Roxbury. The BHA has also successfully applied for another \$30 million in URD Plus funds to expand the scope of the revitalization project to include Orchard Park, another troubled site in Roxbury.

What is unique about this program, aside from the size of the awards, is the flexibility that accompanies the grants. Recipient public housing authorities are free to design their own revitalization agenda, ideally fashioning uniquely local solutions to suit local contexts. The indigenous authorities make their own trade-offs between different possible approaches to revitalization such as physical reconstruction, management improvements and security improvements, the provision of social services, and the introduction of economic development initiatives. The Boston URD site elected to spend the majority of funds on a complete physical renovation of the Mission Main site, setting aside roughly 12% or six million dollars for both the delivery of social and community services and to support economic development activity. HOPE VI staff have made significant strides in setting the social and community service delivery agenda, as they have in defining the parameters and coordinating the principals of the physical

renovation. However, the development of creative approaches to leveraging HOPE VI funds to generate economic gains is not among the most current BHA priorities.

Study Design

This thesis attempts to address the basic, operational issues inherent to the BHA's effort to fashion and realize HOPE VI URD economic development goals. This study builds upon the URD oversight model presented in the grant application, to propose a revised model specific to the implementation of economic development strategies. The proposal states that the BHA/HOPE VI staff will establish a Partnership for Economic Development entity that will oversee these activities. The following three possible economic development strategies are explored to identify key concerns that the BHA must consider when making resource allocation decisions: a job training/placement and information clearinghouse; commercial strip development along Tremont Street; and entrepreneurial assistance for Mission Main and Mission Hill residents to compliment strip development. These strategies will be examined in the particular context of the BHA's ability to deliver services, the Mission Main site itself and the surrounding Mission Hill neighborhood.

Several key factors influence the feasibility of alternative approaches to economic development program design and implementation. Examples of such factors are the organizational capacity of the BHA, the goals of the Boston HOPE VI Demonstration Program, the local economic and policy context, the ability of the BHA to coordinate partnerships with local community-based organizations (CBO's) and the contribution of residents toward developing and implementing a strategy. However, in discussing the means by which these factors affect the feasibility of the three models, this study will pay particular attention to the distinct role of the BHA in program development, implementation and monitoring. Specifically, this thesis explores how these models meet the goals of the URD program and how they might

prove feasible to implement vis a vis the organizational structure of the Boston Housing Authority, the position of the HOPE VI staff within it and the aforementioned set of constraints and considerations to program development.

This study will also present opportunities for integrating efforts with existing projects to minimize BHA direct costs, while at the same time leveraging HOPE VI dollars with local resources, another major URD program parameter. In order to better understand these model's capacity to leverage resources in this way, I will analyze the BHA's potential incentives under each economic development approach. Based upon the experiences of other organizations dedicated to realizing similar goals, I will examine the short, intermediate and long-term role of the BHA in this effort. Ultimately the concern of this study is to identify the sources of the leadership, initiative, resources and organizational capacity to sustain these activities at different phases of the renovation process and to develop an understanding of how the transition of leadership in this area from the BHA to another organization may be realized.

Significance of Study

This study is timely for several reasons. The HOPE VI URD proposal for Mission Main calls for the physical renovation of the site, the provision of social and community services and the use of economic development strategies to reintegrate the residents into the surrounding Mission Hill neighborhood and Boston's mainstream economy. The original proposal does not present a well-developed economic development strategy, although its key objectives include economic development goals and the intention to incorporate this type of activity into the overall revitalization strategy.

As far as the actual implementation work is concerned, the BHA/HOPE VI staff have made strides in meeting the physical renovation and services provision goals. Although several

job training and readiness programs have been incorporated into the scope of the social and community services branch of the plan that do meet economic development goals, very little attention has been dedicated to developing an overall strategy in this area. Due primarily to a number of logistical factors, this independent and comprehensive HOPE VI economic development strategy has not materialized. However, it is mainly due to a lack of immediacy assigned to these strategies, until very recently, relative the other two main components of the revitalization effort. This study will identify and inform the fundamental considerations that must be addressed before taking on the task of individually instituting any of the strategies mentioned in the proposal, or much less, developing a comprehensive economic development agenda.

Economic Development for Mission Main and Mission Hill

Economic development is a commonly used term to describe a recent shift in community development focus from housing and social concerns, to initiatives that address neighborhood, regional and/or state-level economic considerations. Although many different types of very familiar activities fall within the broad category of economic development, it may be defined as:

“...an increase in economic activity (more or better jobs, housing or public services) that results in a wider distribution of the quantities being measured (income is more evenly distributed, the housing stock is not simply in a few very large homes) and an economy that is capable of sustaining the higher level of activity in the future from its own resources.” (Kieschnick/Parzan, 6)

The original proposal calls for a mix of economic development activities to affect the goal of integrating the development into the fabric of the neighborhood. Yet, thus far, activity in this area appears to be limited to small-scale job training, overall readiness and placement activities. This approach concentrates on increasing individual residents' income and improves

their connection to the mainstream economy, but it does not incorporate the place-based, larger-scaled approaches necessary to meet several of the stated proposal goals. The prime location of Mission Main with the wide range of nearby institutions and excellent transit access was stressed in the original proposal. The discussion of these amenities implied that they would be used to maximize federal dollars by leveraging the grant with an array of local resources. In order to address these broader concerns, the Mission Main revitalization proposal envisioned the partnership of CBO's, government agencies, private industry and the BHA. This idealized collective effort would rely upon creativity in assigning responsibilities and in designing the process of collaboration. These types of organizational issues that influence the broader HOPE VI economic development initiatives and the identification of those investments that best leverage HOPE VI dollars will be the focus of this thesis.

Chapter Two provides background information on the HOPE VI project, paying specific attention to the developer/property manager relationship with the BHA and the ongoing role of the BHA in overseeing the project, specifically in overseeing the economic development efforts. This chapter provides a description of the proposed project, and of BHA operations, including the interaction between HOPE VI staff and the larger BHA, and an update of the first two and a half years of programming. Chapter Three outlines a series of the key institutional factors, some of which I have already identified as influencing the BHA action in the area of economic development programming. The key issues I will stress are the influence of declining federal subsidy to public housing authorities, the capacity and limits to service delivery inherent in the BHA's institutional structure, tenant needs, the implications of the project's development and management model and a series of current pressures that will affect immediate allocation decisions. Chapter Four is a discussion of the three proposed economic development models: a job training clearinghouse, commercial strip development along Tremont Street and

entrepreneurial assistance to Mission Main residents. This chapter presents a discussion of the importance of economic development activities to the overall project, and outlines particular organizational requirements to implementing these programs. Those requirements are based upon previous Mission Main programs, current related projects and the experiences of outside practitioners involved in similar endeavors. Chapter Five offers strategic recommendations to cultivate and begin committing resources toward broader HOPE VI economic development goals.

II The Boston HOPE VI Urban Revitalization Demonstration Program

The national US public housing program, first implemented in 1937, was originally intended by policymakers to address the immediate needs caused by the Great Depression, namely the lack of capital in urban economies. The idea of massive public housing construction efforts were politically expedient because these projects translated into jobs through the public works endeavors. (Halpern, 58) The humanitarian origins of the idea of American public housing aimed at addressing the needs of the poorest citizens served as a policy foundation for realizing those economic goals.(M.Kennedy 2) Essentially public housing authorities were conceived of as public corporations whose purpose it is to provide a city's lower-income population with safe, livable and affordable housing. In this initial stage, public housing was envisioned as strictly transitional housing, and not as a long term low-income housing option. However, following the second world war, public housing became the permanent destination of dislocated, poor residents of central cities and incoming immigrants who were not able to follow the middle class flight to the suburbs. According to Marie Kennedy,

“public housing in Boston (and nationally,) increasingly became a relocation resource for people displaced by public demolition for urban renewal and highways and later by gentrification linked to economic restructuring...that underlay the physical redevelopment of Boston.” (Kennedy, 4)

Therefore, directly following the urban renewal initiative in 1951, those public housing sites designated for people of color in the openly segregated system, were populated predominately by African Americans and newly arriving Puerto Ricans.

A series of federal trends in housing policy have contributed to this concentration of urban poor in public housing nationwide. Among these policies is the regulation prohibiting ceiling rents, which limit the maximum amount that PHA's may charge as rent. Through another

federal initiative, housing policy had until very recently, effectively mandated the preference of homeless and non-working applicants over those who are working poor. Since September of 1991, 93% of all admissions have been homeless families. (BHA₂, 6) Although, created with the intention of providing for the neediest of citizens, this regulation actively discourages working class families from seeking housing in PHA's because there is no limit to the amount of rent charged to those with incomes. Therefore public housing may cost more than a comparable market rate apartment. Another argument for the establishment of ceiling rents is that their lack presents a disincentive to work because earning gains are absorbed by immediate rent increases, calculated by income. This policy creates concentrations of people in public housing who have little or no resources to live elsewhere or often, even to pay rent.

Current changes in housing policy, however, are indicative of a greater trend toward economically reintegrating public housing sites, specifically by attracting working class tenants. More recent legislative scrutiny of housing policy has taken aim at the 1969 "Brooke Amendment," which set the standard for public housing rent collection at a 30% cap of the resident's income. (Grunwald, 3)¹ House republicans in Congress seek to repeal this amendment, thereby deregulating public housing and allowing local authorities to set their own fair market rents. The range between discussed federally-required affordable housing unit set-asides for families bellow 30% of the median income ranges between 30% in the House and 40% in the Senate. It remains to be seen how federal policy will mandate PHA's rate of rent collections and intake procedures.

¹The Brook Amendment originally set the rent collection standard to 25% of the resident's income. It was later amended to 30% which is currently used.

The Boston Housing Authority: History and Operations

The Boston Housing Authority was one of the first to be established following an initiative by the Franklin Roosevelt administration in 1937 to create PHA's. The Mission Main and Extension (Alice Heyward Taylor) public housing projects were completed in 1940 and 1952, containing 1,611 units.(BHA², 37) The nationwide trends in public housing leading to site deterioration and the resident's increasing social and economic isolation also describe the experience in Boston. Middle class flight from the central city to nearby suburbs decreased property values, and exacerbated an already troubled housing market following the destructive effect of urban renewal initiatives in the 1950s on poorer neighborhoods. These conditions strained an already deteriorating public housing stock. These problems culminated in 1975 with a successful lawsuit against the BHA by several residents for violations to the Sanitary Code which resulted in City Housing Court-ordered improvements. Again, in 1980 the BHA was taken to task for failing to satisfy the requirements of the implementation progress, but this time, it was put under receivership. Those four years proved to be a period of immense transition for the BHA under the temporary leadership of the dynamic and well-respected Harold Spence. During this time of uncertainty, the authority was not only stabilized, but several key site renovations took place. Satisfied with the level of compliance, the Court removed the BHA from receivership in 1984 and administrative control was returned to the Mayor of Boston.

Three BHA sites represent prominent national examples of management and physical revitalization innovation. Bromley Heath is one of the first tenant-managed public housing developments in the nation and has retained national status as a successful model. The other two developments, Commonwealth and Harbor Point (Columbia Point, prior to renovation) were also renovated using private management and development resources along with massive public subsidy, especially in the case of Harbor Point. However, successes in revitalization efforts thus

far, have called for the removal of these sites from the daily managing purview of the authority.

It is also important to note that these demonstrations have been initiated by strong tenant organization and supported by private management and private dollars.

The BHA has made tremendous strides since 1980 when it was placed in receivership, mainly in efforts to stabilize the authority and regain control of the properties under its purview. The managerial reform accomplishments cited in the 1993 URD application include: being removed from the federal troubled PHA list; closing the budget deficit; reducing outstanding obligations by almost ten million dollars; and totally reorganizing the Planning, Design and Development Division, (now the Planning, Design and Construction Division. (BHA₂, cover letter) In order to address some of its long-standing organizational shortcomings, the BHA has recently instituted the practice of cluster meetings, convening employees who are involved with separate management functions for the same development. This initiative was implemented to provide an opportunity for interaction among employees who work in the historically compartmentalized fashion in which tasks are currently allocated to create synergistic relationships, a heightened level of inter-divisional cooperation, and to foster efficiency. The BHA, through their Community Initiatives Department has also explored alternative security models to improve on-site safety, to provide social services, particularly elder services, and coordinate community service opportunities for youth in the BHA-wide Peer Leader program. In particular, the legal and administrative arms of the Authority have provided support to HOPE VI staff, perhaps not as quickly as they would ideally like, however it is an improvement.

Despite the prospect of a new, permanent and very well-respected Administrator, Sandra Enriquez, (formerly of Maloney Properties), these institutional dynamics are particularly charged especially because of the long period of transition. This is true given the fact that the HOPE VI grant calls upon the BHA to venture into the relatively unfamiliar territory of large-scale resident

service provision and the wholly unfamiliar territory of economic development. Since it was released from receivership in 1984, the vision of the BHA as a transformed authority has not been realized. In the URD project, the BHA faces the triple challenge of reforming its fundamental operations, undertaking two major development projects and venturing into new programmatic activities. Clearly, strides have been made to diversify the authority's functions and operational procedures, to improve its responsiveness, and to accommodate the HOPE VI staff. However, its ability to deliver on the HOPE VI promise to reform the authority itself is still doubtful.

The BHA is headed by an administrator who is appointed directly by the mayor and is overseen by the mayor's development staff, the Boston Redevelopment Authority/Economic Development Industry Council (BRA/EDIC.) These public property managers, rarely have been called upon to re-examine their mission statements or to expand their duties by exploring resident services or private models of property management. Maintenance of the status quo, perhaps even an avoidance of worsening site conditions have been the order of the day. The style of management associated with the BHA has been described as overly bureaucratic, with operations that are "centralized to the point of dysfunction."(Adams et al., 3) Purchases, rent collection, and tenant selection functions are performed at the central level, with little or no on-site staff participation. Given the history of this recently troubled authority, in which attempts at reform are consistently met with union and general staff opposition, it would take a great deal of institutional will to effect changes in the work environment of the authority.

This working dynamic becomes increasingly significant to the revitalization process in light of recent developments in federal fiscal policy which indicate that innovations in low-income housing projects will take place with much less federal programmatic initiative and subsidy. The decision to continue serving the poorest people will be made at the state and city-

level, if it is made at all. In order to make up for a shortfall of federal financial and program guideline support, public housing authorities will be called upon to change their mode of operations to achieve greater efficiency. They will also have to look outside their own organizations and maximize local/regional resources to carry out this self-imposed mandate. This trend in housing policy is of major significance to the URD process as well, given the structure of the authority itself, which rewards systematic behavior and not necessarily effective or creative working habits, such as intra-agency collaboration.

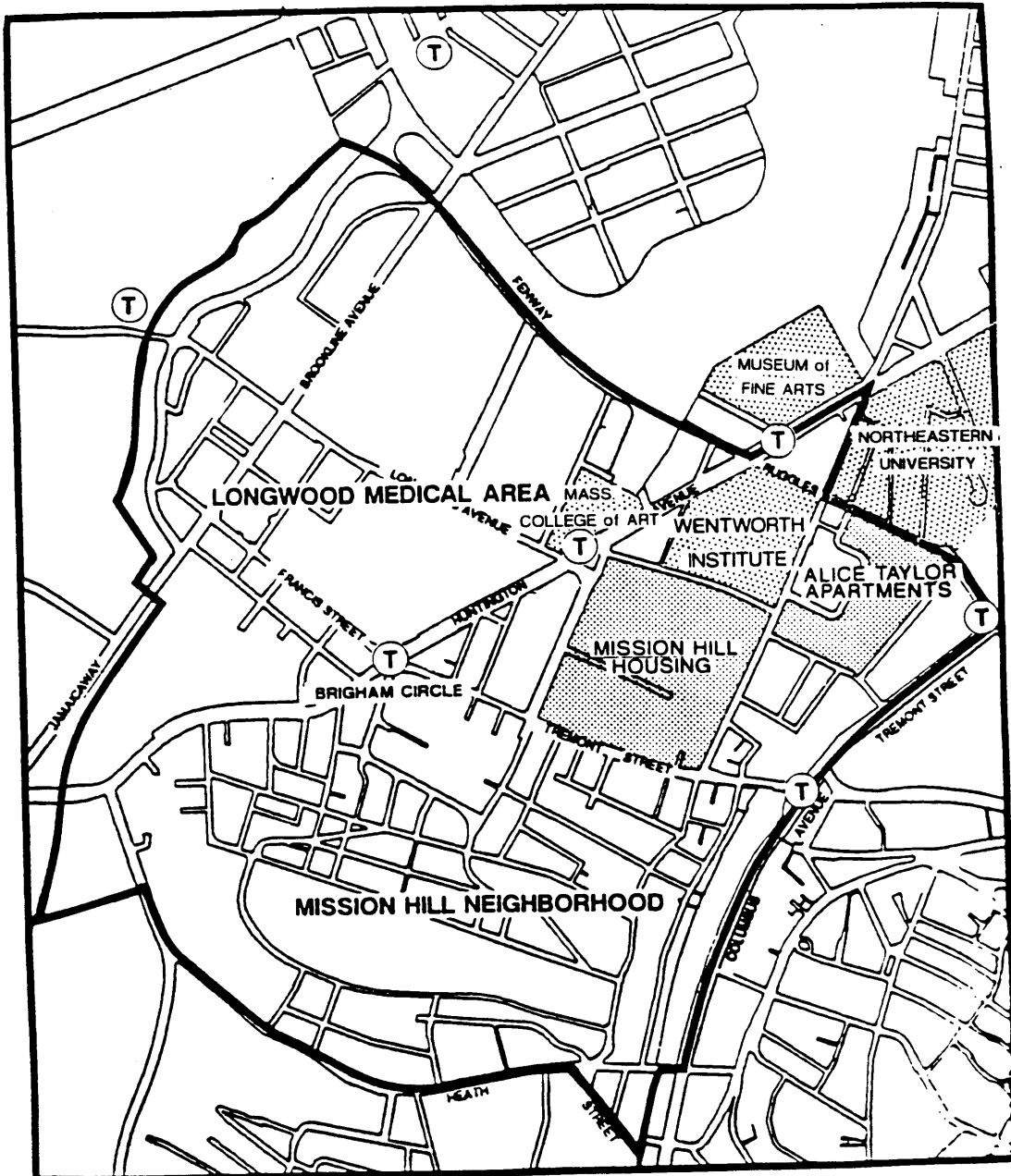
The HOPE VI Mission Main URD Proposal: 1993 and 1996

The Mission Main revitalization proposal envisioned a complete physical renovation of the site. The following are the stated goals of the project presented in the application executive summary:

1. Make Mission Hill safe;
2. Make the housing sound and attractive;
3. Improve BHA responsiveness;
4. Reward personal responsibility;
5. Integrate the development into the neighborhood;
6. Reinforce community. (BHA₂, 1)

These goals were developed collaboratively by residents, local institutional partners and BHA staff. The “institutional” feel of the development was a primary theme in the initial design charrettes used to formulate a shared vision for the proposal. The original plan does not call for a reconfiguration of the street or building layout. Rather, the renovation was limited to rehabilitation of the original buildings, using breakthroughs to enlarge individual units and enclosing yard space between buildings to create more private spaces. The common hallways would have been replaced with private entryways to better simulate private market housing, and a community center, a Family Investment Center, would be erected in the middle of the development to house the social and community service providers and resident activities. In

Map 2-1

MISSION HILL DISTRICT

Source: BHA URD Application 1993

addition, as part of an overall management reform effort, an aggressive community policing program and neighborhood safety program would be implemented. Specifically, the author, Amy Schectman argued that HOPE VI would reform the BHA itself, enabling the renovation process to be completely delivered by the authority. By improving responsiveness, the author referred mainly to the relationship between on-site management and residents, rather than to the operations within the BHA.

Citing the familiar planning phrase: "it takes more than bricks and mortar," the proposal stresses the importance of comprehensiveness to the overall renovation. Using a partnership approach, unprecedented resources would be committed to human development programs ranging from basic health services, to parent support groups and specialized youth vocational education. In order to accomplish this endeavor, the original proposal envisioned the partnership of CBO's, private industry, service providers and the BHA, necessitating creativity and tremendous organizational capacity in assigning responsibilities and in designing the process of collaboration. Throughout the effort, the URD project is expected to leverage federal support with local resources and private funds. The prime location of Mission Main with the wide range of nearby institutions and transit access was stressed in the original proposal, implying that these resources would be incorporated into the revitalization effort, thereby maximizing federal dollars. In fact, the site's location was one of the main reasons the BHA selected Mission Main from among the developments that met the prospective HOPE VI site eligibility guidelines.

To the extent that the application proposal describes an economic development strategy, it does so in the context of the surrounding uses, the existing service providers willing to go into partnership with the BHA, and current local development endeavors. Named as potential strategies are a small-scale youth enterprise program and small business or micro-enterprise development for Mission Main residents with an existing business. However, any particular

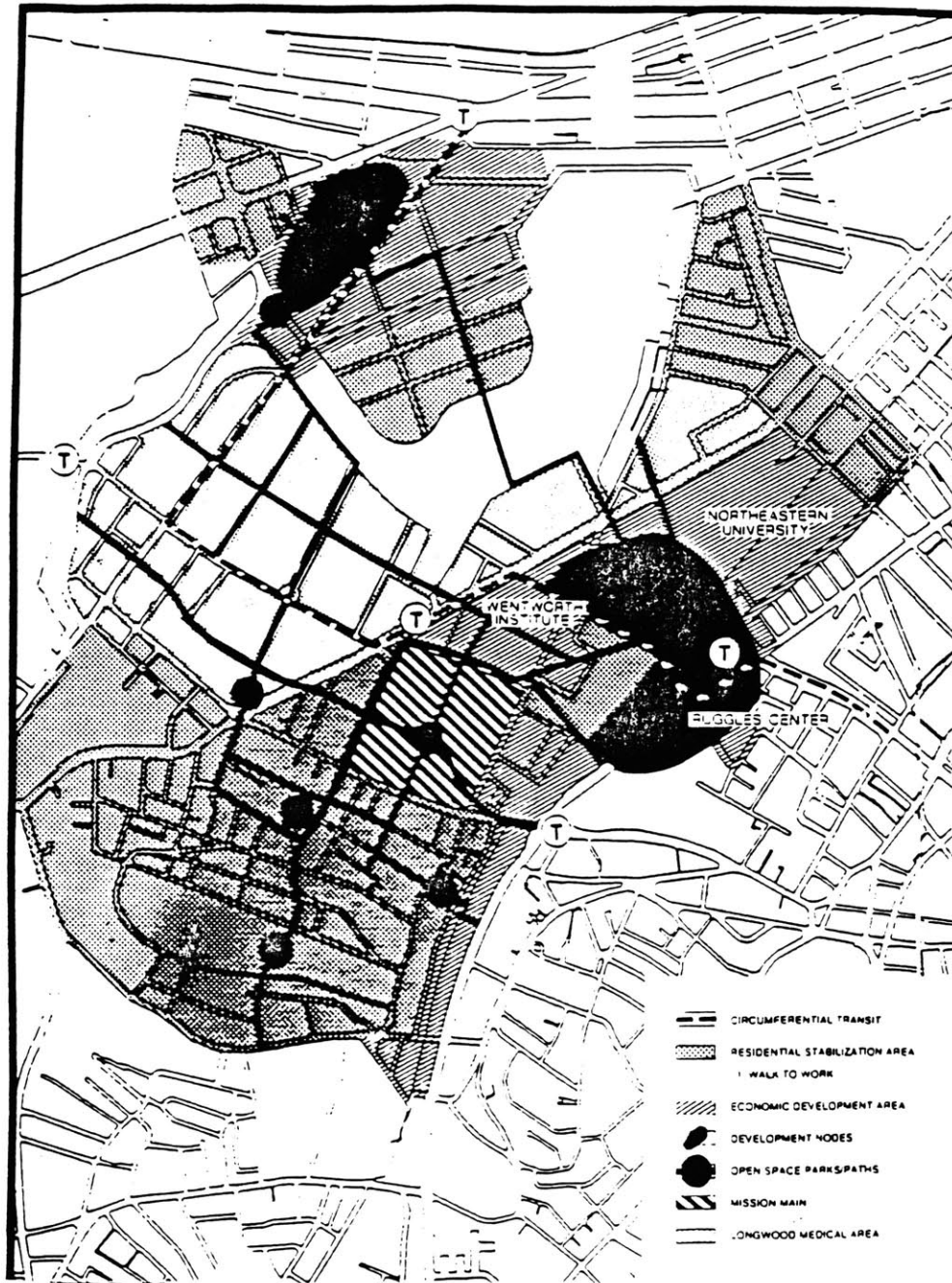
efforts to further define potential training programs place this revitalization component firmly within the better-developed social and community service network. The exception to this classification is the small business development strategy which proposes a partnership with local community colleges to provide training, but little else is described in detail. The proposal also call for the creation of a coordinating entity called the Partnership for Economic Development consisting of residents, HOPE VI staff, and area institutions.

The economic development model described in the proposal relies heavily on neighborhood institutions to define the commercial development agenda and to develop a role for Mission Main residents in their activities. Through a Partnership for Economic Development, HOPE VI staff would actively link the interests of the resident to the two abutting institutional districts, the Longwood Medical Area (LMA) and the East Fenway. The Mission Hill Concept Plan highlights areas of institutional expansion as “economic development areas.” This activity is centered on the LMA district, the Southwest Corridor economic development zone, and a new police headquarters. (BHA₂, 52)

Many elements of the original proposal remain, specifically the goal of comprehensiveness. However, the revised proposal widens the scope of the demonstration project beyond the site itself to include the abutting properties. In the Mission Main redevelopment RFP, HOPE VI staff include among the project’s goals the “social, economic and physical integration of the site with the broader Mission Hill neighborhood.” Instead of site renovation, the project has envisioned the HOPE VI demonstration project as a neighborhood development strategy. The design guidelines include a minimum of 535 public housing units within a larger mixed income community better resembling a typical urban family housing neighborhood. The plan must “to the largest extent possible, address the edge conditions,” particularly a street reconfiguration. The site boundaries have been moved beyond Parker street,

Map 2-2

MISSION HILL DISTRICT CONCEPT PLAN



Source: BHA URD Application 1993

leaving a piece of property along Ward Street to offer to Northeastern University in exchange for another key parcel.

In addition, the developer team is expected to maximize the array of resources from different city departments, CBO's and industry associations in setting the social and community and economic development agenda, as well as the physical renovation. Priority is given to making "the connections and (building) the relationships that will create an infrastructure that survives beyond the term of the HOPE VI funding", and presumably beyond BHA leadership. (BHA₃, 4,7) However, the primary shift in philosophy from the original proposal is the belief that in order for the revitalization effort to succeed, it must be distanced from the BHA.

BHA/HOPE VI Institutional Capacity and URD Implementation Progress

HOPE VI presents an unusual set of circumstances in which the funding is available, but the technical experience, long term goals, and the commitment to economic development action as a recognized goal are not in place. Even in the original proposal, it was clear that the BHA had no intention of directly providing services. Rather, staff had envisioned a collaborative of providers and an effective use of funds. Whether the BHA is providing services, or simply the initiative and financial support for their development, their knowledge of the area is difficult to determine. Staff have limited experience in large-scale resident services provision, especially economic development initiatives. The proposal specifically calls for decentralized service delivery. However, for several reasons the capacity of the BHA to effectively coordinate the stakeholders is in question. Therefore, a major test of the BHA's ability to carry out the directives of the proposal will be its demonstrated capacity to coordinate partnerships with local CBO's.

HOPE VI staff consists of a Project Director who oversees all activity and coordinates the long term planning effort for both the Mission Hill and Orchard Park URD sites, a Social and Community Services Coordinator who oversees and manages the array of services supported by the HOPE VI funding for both sites, the Project Architects, an Economic Development Coordinator, Project Associates and the development Site Manager. With the exception of the Project Architects and the current Social and Community Services Coordinator, HOPE VI staff have been recruited from without the BHA.

In its short history, the Boston HOPE VI URD has seen a great deal of top-level administrative turnover. The BHA administrator at the time the proposal was written, was asked to resign by the mayor. The current Program Director is not the original architect of the proposal, but was recruited from the Public Facilities Department by the Mayor's development staff specifically for her expertise in real estate finance and public and private development. The original Social and Community Services Coordinator was recruited by Goodwill Industries in January of 1996 and has since been replaced by her former assistant, the director of the on-site youth services organization, overseen by the BHA Community Initiatives Department. A major change in HOPE VI staff is the addition of a full-time individual dedicated to developing the economic development component of the demonstration program.

Although this strategic hire, the Economic Development Coordinator, was made at the suggestion of a member of the Academic Advisory Panel, (MIT), this action nevertheless, displays substantial commitment to idea that the economic development approaches are important to the overall revitalization effort and that they require special oversight. The fact that these two areas, social services and economic development have been so markedly separated in terms of staff responsibilities, is also encouraging. However in year three of the demonstration project, considering the minimal exploration of action in this area, it appears that efforts in this

direction are limited to job training programmatic activity as an extension of the more familiar social and community service effort. In fact the job description for the HOPE VI Economic Development Director mentions only job training and placement programs as initiatives that will be under her purview.

Despite the turnover, HOPE VI staff, largely new to the BHA, have risen to the occasion, managing a complex process with many stakeholders, some not as obvious as others. According to their HUD overseers, HOPE VI staff have utilized innovative approaches and have “revolutionized the RFP process” for public/private partnerships in public housing-related projects. Until very recently, both HOPE VI sites were managed through the compartmentalized structure of management functions with which the BHA has historically managed its sites. Purchases were made at the central level, with little or no on-site management input. Similarly, issues of security were managed from one central location, without the benefit of on-site staff participation. However, in recognition of the need for greater efficiency and responsiveness, the staff has already made strides to streamline and centralize the management of the HOPE VI sites, while the ongoing effort to forge an understanding with a developer and private manager proceeds.

The authority has not yet started the actual physical renovation which is the cornerstone of the HOPE VI plan. In fact only within the last few months have prospective developers been invited to submit a bid, after completing a request for qualifications process. The final plan has been virtually finalized, yet the effects have not yet been made tangible to residents or to Mission Hill neighbors who have endured numerous delays and plan adjustments. Meanwhile, the authority has been subject to pressure from HUD to utilize the funds which have been idle since the transfer was made two years ago or to present a case for not doing so. The current staff have demonstrated their ability to think through the situation and risk sustaining wide-ranging

criticism in a very reactionary environment in order to address root concerns, that present substantial, if not readily obvious obstacles to the redevelopment effort. It was only after a visit from HUD officials that HOPE VI staff began to explore the possibility of razing all the buildings rather than proceeding with the rehabilitation plan. Although this was a period of high scrutiny, the staff used this time to explore a very politically-charged approach that seemed to make more sense but would prove to be a very hard sell to the residents. This is also evident in the initiative to centralize the management of both HOPE VI sites under the purview of HOPE VI staff, in conjunction with a single senior BHA on-site manager. This decision is significant from an operational perspective because it marks the first formalized commitment to shift administrative control over to the HOPE VI sites and away from the BHA's portfolio.

The way in which the Boston HOPE VI URD has progressed, the developer selected from a highly structured bidding process, will assume ownership of the buildings. In addition, the developer must take on a private property managing entity as a partner for a holding period of fifteen years in which the corporation is eligible for low income housing tax credits. The BHA will extend a long term lease to the corporation, allowing the authority a certain level of control over the site and the development process. Different approaches are currently being explored to include residents as limited general co-partners in the corporation that will retain ownership of the buildings. In addition, the two designated developers Peabody and Winn must collaborate to delegate responsibilities and set the renovation agenda. In the redevelopment RFP, however, HOPE VI staff include among the program components "Resident Services and Economic Development." In this section the BHA stipulates that it will:

"be an active partner in planning and executing the strategy that developers, residents, the BHA and social service agencies finally create. The BHA is willing to consider any responsible suggestion regarding the long-term administration of services-including an ongoing role for the BHA, assumption of the role by the development team, or the

involvement of a third party. The BHA will look for Proposers to supply some initial creative thinking for this effort in their response to this RFP.” (BHA₃, 7)

The redevelopment and operational phases overseer role for the BHA/HOPE VI staff calls into question the viability of long term resident service provision and economic development initiatives, because the liability for these components is placed on the future private management entity. The terms of the management entity’s responsibilities and the long-term role of the BHA are still being discussed.

URD Implementation Implications

This troubled history of unresolved operational shortcomings, combined with the effects of changing federal and state policy effectively shrinking subsidies, have created a very challenging environment for the BHA. The combined effect of factors such as regional economic retraction, a shrinking affordable housing stock, and changes in federal public housing policy have contributed to the transformation of some public housing stock in Boston and other larger cities into “housing of last resort”, as Amy Schectman, then Planning Director and author of the HOPE VI proposal referred to Mission Main. This concentration of poverty has created hardships for tenants and neighboring residents alike, and a very challenging environment to realize institutional change.

One of the lessons of Columbia Point, particularly of the privatization of public housing is that “the people thrown together in Columbia Point had the qualities needed to build a vital community- if only they had been given the chance.” (Kennedy, 1) Harbor Point has been modeled as a success because of the stark difference in the quality of the developments’ offerings following renovation. However the project’s ability to retain a low-income resident population has not yet been proven. Considering this case and given the similarities between the circumstances of both projects, it is understandable that Mission Main tenants are wary of the

BHA's commitment to retain existing residents. The influence of land speculation in the case of Columbia Point contributed to the loss of public housing units. In fact, only 400 of the original 1504 units designated and subsidized for low-income people remained after renovation.

(Kennedy, 5) Mission Main, like the case of Columbia Point, has been the target of private land speculation due to the dynamic uses in its immediate vicinity. In light of such pressures, early efforts to retain the current community and to invest them in the process of redevelopment are integral to the success of the mixed-income model. It is vital that the BHA continue providing vision and continuity in its oversight capacity.

The project has evolved in such a way that HOPE VI staff sought private expertise in carrying out the key functions of redevelopment. Rather than using the demonstration grant to directly fund an internal revitalization effort, HOPE VI staff have elected to coordinate private principals based on centralized guidelines. The implications of having out-sourced all of the major components of the revitalization effort from design, development, management and perhaps the services provision and economic development oversight implies that the revitalization effort is concentrated strictly upon improving sight conditions and not on addressing the organizational shortcomings of the BHA. However it is important that the project remain BHA-driven enterprise such that HOPE VI staff remain at the forefront of evaluating the process of renovation, developing the guiding vision and facilitating those relationships that will ensure the URD's success.

The fact that there is no institutional precedent for economic development activities within the BHA beyond limited job training and an abandoned micro-enterprise development program in its initial stages, presents obstacles for HOPE VI staff. This is particularly true because of the uncertainty over whether the developer/manager will be primarily responsible for initiating and administering these activities. Given the profile of Mission Main residents, service

providers will play a critical role in the success of job readiness programs. Only through cooperative partnerships can the program address formidable obstacles to employment such as requisite child-care, linguistic isolation and lack of a work history. This issue is critical to the economic development component because much of that work will depend on the organizing entity's ability to coordinate stakeholders and programs.

Although, the application proposal does not represent the range of possibilities that are currently being explored as potential strategies, efforts in the area of job training have relied heavily on Mission Main's institutional neighbors. Not only is this approach limiting, but it may present obstacles in reintegrating residents into the surrounding community. The history of Mission Hill, specifically the neighborhood's opposition to institutional encroachment, should be considered when attempting to tie residents interests inextricably to those of the surrounding institutions. It is not necessarily a poor choice of action, however it should be done thoughtfully and with an eye to preserving gains in relations with the greater, twenty-four hour neighborhood residents. In addition the Mission Main Concept Plan does not include within its definition of economic development area projects, those concerns that address neighborhood commercial, primary market service needs. HOPE VI staff should not underestimate the URD's potential to address these concerns and to use this opportunity to improve resident's connection to the greater Mission Hill neighborhood.

III Key Institutional Factors

A number of key institutional factors affect the project's implementation process and its probability of success. The key issues I will stress are:

1. The capacity of the BHA to coordinate the service delivery component of the URD, specifically its ability to coordinate partnerships with CBO's;
2. A description of the resident profile and the issues that influence the likelihood of meaningful collaboration between the BHA/HOPE VI staff and residents, specifically in developing and implementing an economic development strategy;
3. From the perspective of HOPE VI staff, the ongoing tension between committing resources toward current pressures that demand programmatic resources or toward longer-term, more investment-oriented planning.

A. Capacity of the BHA in Service Coordination and Delivery

Although the BHA itself will not be involved in providing direct services or even exclusive oversight of the project, its institutional pressures still have the potential to affect the HOPE VI revitalization process. Examples of these pressures are: upcoming fiscal hardship placed on the BHA due to shrinking federal resources; the strained relationship between HOPE VI staff and the greater BHA; and the uncertainty associated with the BHA's continued role in the revitalization process and management model.

HOPE VI Staff and the BHA

The HOPE VI proposal brought integral operational concerns to the fore. In the grant proposal submitted to HUD, the BHA staff proposed that a HOPE VI grant would provide the opportunity not only to remake an entire development, but to change the very way that the BHA actually does business. This potential was made a centerpiece of the proposal, demonstrating the staff's understanding of the broader concerns of implementation and the degree of organizational capacity required to realize those goals. However, the ability of the HOPE VI staff and the BHA staff to work collectively has been severely tested by resource allocation issues, and conflict over administrative control of the revitalization process.

There are several reasons to explain the strained relationship between the project staff and the permanent authority personnel. The BHA has not had a permanent administrator since David Cortiella was asked by the Mayor to resign in Fall of 1994. The HOPE VI project brings the authority high visibility from the media and overseeing agencies such as BRA/EDIC during a very unstable time. The nature of the project makes demands on the BHA's administrative and legal arms that are not covered by HOPE VI resources. In addition, the staff's drive and time pressures often put them at odds with BHA staff with whom they must collaborate and who are not as invested in the project, and therefore unwilling to commit special attention to HOPE VI-related assignments. Ultimately, it is the impression of HOPE VI staff as attempting to usurp a leadership role that creates the conflict. From the perspective of permanent BHA employees, these outside professionals have been immediately placed in senior level management positions, coordinating a multi-faceted, large scale project focused on addressing what has essentially been framed as a glaring BHA failure. All of these dynamics are at work in an organization with many long-time employees, and whose incentive structure values seniority above performance.

The project's resource demands in terms of space, staff time and collaboration with other BHA departments have also contributed to a strained relationship. As I mentioned earlier, HOPE VI staff have largely been recruited to work on this particular project and as a result work very separately from the rest of the BHA. HOPE VI staff at one point were going to move all their administrative functions on-site. However it soon became evident that good communication and cooperation with the highest level of the authority administration would be severely compromised if operations for HOPE VI staff and that of BHA administrative, and legal arms in particular were not housed in close proximity to one another. HOPE VI staff is currently housed in the Planning, Design and Construction Division, where it has been since the program's inception mainly because the author of the original proposal, was at the time, the acting Planning

Director. Their operation has since grown, creating space demands in an already tight office environment. Currently, a move of HOPE VI operations within the BHA downtown office is being discussed.

The new environment for public housing, necessitates creative solutions to long-standing problems which may no longer be addressed by federal support. Legislative threats to the Brooke Amendment, should they succeed, will force a redefinition of the development agreement. The Republican lawmakers contend that the Brooks Amendment provides a disincentive to work. "In an era of declining federal aide, the flexibility to raise rents and attract higher-income tenants may save housing agencies from fiscal disaster." (Grunwald, 3) Opponents argue that the a broader income mix would promote stability in public housing, but complete deregulation will lead to rent hikes and gentrification.

Another major component to the BHA's role in the revitalization effort, are the terms of the private management/development corporation. These issues are currently being worked out between the two designated developers and the BHA. In the Mission Main Redevelopment RFP, it is stated that the BHA will maintain an oversight position. It is as yet unclear what relationship the BHA/HOPE VI staff will maintain in programmatic activities beyond the actual renovation. If the BHA is cut out of the process on a day to day basis, already having developed working relationships, it may affect the project's ability to secure outside partnerships, particularly with the social service community and job training practitioners.

The previous Social and Community Services Coordinator had a long work history in private non-profit community and was very familiar with array of services available. However, very little long range planning went into the first year of implementation. Much of her effort was geared toward managing the convoluted system of the BHA. The state mandate for public spending supersedes the federal waiver requested and won in the proposal process, requiring

every service contract to be awarded through an RFP process, though staff sought very specific services that only a handful of providers were prepared to meet. This requirement created more work than was necessary, putting HOPE VI staff at the mercy of the BHA legal division for timely responses. As a result, this process often strained relationships with participating organizations who have very strict programmatic guidelines. In effect, this system forced the BHA to utilize providers that were large enough to survive the BHA RFP and reimbursement processes.

B. BHA Relations with Tenants and Tenants' Contributions to the Implementation Process

Resident profile: Mission Main and Mission Hill Neighborhood

Before the design of appropriate economic development programming can occur, a description of the target population's basic demographic profile, including labor market participation should be formulated. According to April 1995 BHA data, 549 households live at Mission Main, comprising a population of 1549 people, whose average tenure is 11 years. Mission Main residents are very young. In fact according to 1990 census data, over one third (35%) of Mission Main residents were younger than 15, making the median age as low as 21.9 years. The same proportion of residents (35%) are within the prime employment years of 25 to 54 years of age, as opposed to the city average proportion of the same age cohort of 45%. (BHA₂, 41)

Households are headed predominately by women. Of all current households and all households with more than one person, 87% and 92% are headed by women. The proportion of children living with one parent is 80%, almost double the city-wide proportion of 42%. Racially, Mission Main is mainly African-American and Latino. The majority of current residents, 60%, are classified as "Spanish" and about 37% are of African descent (predominately African

American).¹ (Very few Caucasians or Asians live in the development.) In addition, those claiming AFDC income comprise 41% of current households.(Johnson, 1)

Educational attainment, like the rate of employment among residents is very low. Of all persons 18 years or older, 31% have completed less than 9 years of school and another 28% have passed the ninth grade, but have not graduated from the 12th grade. However, 10% hold a college degree or higher. Those Mission Main residents who were currently enrolled in college, at the time of the last population census in 1990 total 156 people, representing only 9% of persons over 18 years of age, about one half the city-wide average.(BHA₂, 42)

Employment at Mission Main and Orchard Park²

Table 3-1. The Employed at Mission Main and Orchard Park

	Mission Main	Orchard Park
Current households that claim an employer/total current HH's.	61/549	35/320
Ave. family size of the currently employed/ave. family size of all current HH's.	2.6/2.9	2.45/2.7
Ave. age of the employed head of household/total pop.	42/21.9	44
Ave Tenure total employed/currently employed	7.25/6.14 years	N/A
Race of total employed	50% Black 50% 'Spanish'	87% Black 12% 'Spanish'

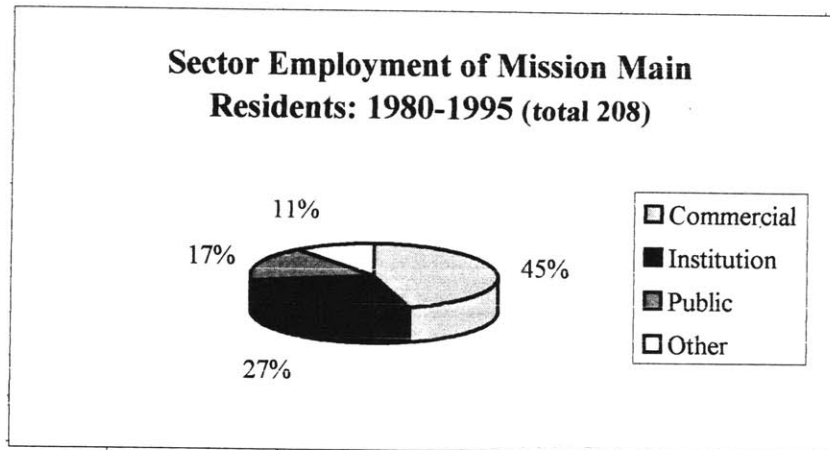
Source: BHA Data as of April 1995.

¹Racial profiles are tricky in the sense the data collected by the BHA does not differentiate between race and ethnicity. For example Black and Latino are not comparable categories, because Latino is an ethnic orientation, not racial membership, and Latinos can be of any racial descent.

²The rationale for including Orchard Park data is that HOPE VI staff will develop an economic development strategy which will be applicable to both sites. This data on employed residents, especially as it is compared to that of the other HOPE VI site, are relevant to that endeavor and will inform broader program development.

In general, the basic head of household characteristics suggest that there is very little discernible difference between the employed and the unemployed. This is especially true for the race, gender of household head and average family size. The only variables that seem to differ between the employed and unemployed heads of household is average tenure and age of household head. The average tenure for all Mission Main residents is 11 years, however among the employed, average tenure is little over 6 years. This is a significant difference which suggests that those residents who work, tend to stay in the development for fewer years than those who do not. For this residential subset, it seems that public housing is a transitional experience.

Figure 3-1



Source: BHA Data as of April 1995.

Out of 549 current households at Mission Main only 61 claim employment and out of 320 current households at Orchard Park, only 35 claim employment. The majority of employers of Mission Main residents are within a two-mile radius of the site. It seems that these figures are artificially low, and that it is not entirely a result of the disincentive to reporting income.³ In

³These data have been compiled by the BHA as part of the annual contract renewal process. Lease holders are asked to provide information about their households, including whether they or another member of their household is employed. Because rents are calculated based on their reported incomes, residents have a strong disincentive to report a job as a source of income.

analyzing these data, it is important to remember that roughly 50% of the population is old enough to work. In addition, many people most likely have access to temporary and/or informal work such as childcare and domestic services which is difficult to monitor.

Considering the proximity of so many prominent universities and hospitals, and the past efforts to involve the administrators of these institutions in connecting Mission Main residents to the local labor market, it is not surprising that institutions had employed 27% of residents. Because public service is the most prominent employment source in Boston, it is somewhat unexpected, however, that the rate of public sector employment for both sites is so low. Similarly, it is somewhat surprising to find that the number of people claiming employment is very similar for both sites, though Mission Main is a much larger development. The data seem to indicate that the rates of employment participation at Orchard Park are greater than at Mission Main. This finding is interesting when considering the radically different surroundings of the two sites. Mission is almost an anomaly for a public housing site because of the wealth of dynamic daytime uses in its immediate vicinity and its excellent public transportation service. Orchard Park however is in a much less active area, surrounded mainly by residential property, some commercial development along Dudley Street, and a major vehicular transportation route. Yet, the proportion of Orchard Park residents employed by the commercial sector almost mirrors that of Mission, at 44% and 45% respectively. Differences between the two sites include a much higher rate of employment in the institutional sector for Mission Main residents. The sectors that make up the difference for Orchard Park are Public (6% points higher for Orchard) and Other (9% points higher for Orchard.) The section of Roxbury where Orchard Park is located has a long history of social and community activism. This is reflected in the number of non-profits and community organizations that have employed Orchard Park residents, (classified as Other.)

Tenant Participation in the URD Process

Mission Main tenants are still at a preliminary stage of their development as an organized entity. Unlike Orchard Park tenants, Mission Main tenants are severely disconnected from the surrounding neighborhood. This is evident in their lack of participation on Mission Hill community organization boards and steering committees. Their relationship with the BHA is tenuous at best and is often characterized by deep distrust. Prior to the URD program, tenant formalized collaboration with the BHA was limited to the BHA-wide Capital Improvement Teams and the tenant task force of each development site, which is overseen by the BHA Community Initiatives Department.(BHA₁, 6)

At the outset of the revitalization process, tenants expressed their desire to be integral contributors to the URD. They came out to participate in the design charettes, to discuss the community's needs and to formulate an action plan to develop the proposal. Since the summer of 1995, the BHA has arranged for the provision of technical assistance in capacity-building to the Mission Main Tenant Task Force (MMTTF.) The benefits of this endeavor are not yet clear. The MMTTF has been dominated by individuals serving long-term leadership positions. This system allowing only a limited number of resident to participate in this representative capacity has not been particularly successful in engaging a broad range of residents in the decision-making and information dissemination effort. A major test of the capacity-building endeavor will be the extent to which more residents are involved in the process of revitalization in the coming years.

The social and community services effort has maintained a sense of connection and mutual purpose between Mission Main tenants and the HOPE VI staff. The URD implementation process has delivered on the promise to address the tenants' most pressing social services needs, particularly in expanding health services, family counseling and youth programs.

This success is partially due to resident's ongoing participation on the Social and Community Service Advisory Committee and the commitment of youth center Mission P.R.I.D.E. on-site staff, (in place prior to the URD as part of a BHA-wide service initiative.)

However, HOPE VI staff have been consistently meet with difficulty in trying to formulate mechanisms by which they may interact with residents in a meaningful and consistent way. This is evident in the recent developer selection announcement by the mayor. In mid April 1996, the mayor called a press conference at the Mission Main site, to announce the selection of the redevelopment team, although last minute decisions were unresolved. (Anand, 17) The tenants forced a cancellation of the meeting stating that their interest in preserving the lower density of the site had been ignored in the top-down decision over the bid finalists. From interviews, I have found that the conflict was not entirely based upon substantial disagreement. The source of disagreement was a combination of personality conflicts between tenant association leadership and HOPE VI staff and resentment toward the Mayor Menino who is perceived by some tenants as having been uninvolved with the process until the time of the announcement. The formal explanation for the disagreement was a dispute over final density guidelines that tenants claim was left unclear in the RFP process. This particular issue over density is a reincarnation of the same fear on the part of tenants that they will eventually be edged out of the new mixed-income development. This fear has been a recurring theme throughout the process. This distrust is a very serious issue which was clearly underestimated by city officials who walked into the meeting having already granted tenants veto power and invited members of the development community and the media to attend the announcement.

This same tension is as yet unresolved, although this particular issue has been settled. HOPE VI staff are still trying to involve residents, mainly task force members in all major decisions and are being met with frustrating delays based on miscommunications and less than

ideal relations. This effort to integrate ongoing tenant participation into operations will be greatly served by attempts to foster trust through the development of a shared vision. Similar to the experience of HOPE VI staff, service providers have articulated difficulty in engaging residents, specifically in their efforts in outreach and retention. I am not suggesting that residents are less interested in the offerings than another population. However, clearly there has been a breakdown in communication and perhaps even poor experiences and unmet expectations among those residents who have been program participants and have passed this information on to others. Action for Boston Community Development has offered three cohorts of residents specialized job training through a partnership with local LMA institutions. The effectiveness of this program to produce consistent earnings gains for participants has not been established. The majority of participants completed the 26-week rigorous program to the internship phase and subsequently were not offered permanent placement for performance issues. Something was missing from this program that addressed the post-placement obstacles. This program represents one of the largest and most structured of the on-site job training efforts. Therefore it is reasonable to infer that a failure to produce successful placements, however high the quality of the training offered, would have serious implications for future outreach efforts.

Tenants are also very resistant to surveys, which is not only another important avenue for resident contribution to the revitalization process, but it is also imperative in the effort to effectively target resources. A new survey is being developed to help gauge the baseline work skills and experience of the population. However, at this stage in the development a survey may raise expectations that will only set the program up for failure. Central to this issue, is a broader concern that involves the very concept of public housing. HOPE VI staff, together with BHA staff must resolve the tension between the authority's concern with serving current tenants in the

context of existing site specifics, and its long-term mission of ensuring the provision of public housing to the city's needy citizens.

C. The Tension Between Current Pressures and the Need for Longer Term Planning

One of the more immediate pressures that will affect the coming months of programming is the issue of relocation. It is as yet unclear how many of the current residents will remain on-site throughout the process, and of those who leave, who will eventually live in the renovated development. One of the trade-offs to following a strict development schedule may be a significant loss of the existing community. HOPE VI staff will have limited oversight over the relocation process as this component will be sub-contracted. They anticipate that the majority of people relocated using Section 8 vouchers will want to return following revitalization. However, from experience with residents that use the vouchers to relocate to suburban areas, HOPE VI staff know that few return to the central city while participating in the voucher program. The BHA is not taking any particular action to ensure that the current residents return, beyond realizing a guarantee made early on that residents will be allowed to return following renovation. This issue is also central to the economic development effort, which is basically centered on empowering individual residents through improved job readiness and connection to the mainstream market, while not providing or even articulating the incentives to stay.

Clearly the residents immediate social service needs compromise the staff's ability to contribute resources toward long term economic development planning. For this reason a clear demarcation between social service and economic development activities must be made. Aside from the basic human services, HOPE VI staff are under pressure to deliver on the job training, readiness and increased job participation component of the URD program. This is particularly the case concerning the pressures exerted on the job training effort by the state's aggressive

welfare reform initiative. From the experience of Action for Boston Community Development (ABCD), which provides residents with clerical skills training, this legislation is putting undue pressure on participants rather than acting as a catalyst to increase enrollment and graduation rates. Some recipients of AFDC, (those whose children are older than six years of age,) are required to work or perform twenty hours of community service in order to retain current levels of benefits and aid. Those recipients that are currently in job training programs are not exempt from the community service requirements. As a result, training providers have had to coordinate community service activities for participants in addition to regular programming. Clearly this function should not fall directly upon the individual provider, but should be addressed by a case manager or a body that is set up to track residents and facilitate their involvement in offered programs. This type of mechanism can not be developed without long-range planning, allowing staff to sustain the social services component, while making necessary investments elsewhere.

URD Implementation Implications

Housing authorities have two sources of income, federal subsidies and tenant rent collections, which prove integral to public/private redevelopment partnerships. The federal subsidies in particular enable developers to secure debt financing. Congress has already begun to reduce subsidies. If the Brooke Amendment is repealed, PHA's would be allowed and in fact motivated, to compensate for the revenue shortfall by seeking higher rents. The federal subsidies present a major incentive to the developer, especially when coupled with the prospect of being able to charge market rates for all of the potential public housing units. Generally, a lack of direct federal funding for operations will severely undermine any initiatives in services expansion, such as in economic development. HOPE VI staff may also decide that in light of

theses fiscal trends, HOPE VI funds would be better-spent reinvested into the project to assure its long-time viability.

Further, this lack of funding would limit the BHA's ability to invest its own funds in new innovations or non-core functions such as economic development initiatives. This presents a problem in planning for the continued programming, beyond the five years of the URD. The lack of long term planning is especially evident in recent attempts to upgrade the evaluative process. Almost no baseline data was readily available to inform the end of year one social and community services program evaluation and strategic planning session. Because of changes in federal fiscal policy, the long-term success of this component of the demonstration project depends on the staff's ability to expand the scope of existing services in ways that maximize partnerships with local providers and CBO's. A major step in this direction is the institution of a case management system that provides a foundation and steers residents through the array of services from basic health to substance abuse counseling and treatment.

The resident profile of Mission Main is one of a community with significant barriers to employment and even social service program participation. In order to effect this community's reintegration to the Mission Hill neighborhood, residents' special needs must be addressed in conjunction with economic development initiatives. This presents another layer of complexity to definition of program parameters. This is the case because any attempt to institute a job training endeavor, for example, must not only take into account the soundness and feasibility of the program itself, but it must also build into the program a mechanism by which these barriers are addressed. However, the data regarding job participation by sector, provides a starting point to target industries that already have a history of employing BHA residents and to tap into existing job information networks among residents. For Mission clearly an opportunity to build

upon resident connections to local area institutions should be considered for future endeavors, as is the case for their private, for-profit participation.

The flexibility afforded by the design of HOPE VI, also creates the need for very strategic action and initiative on the part of the recipient PHA in defining their program's goals and parameters. From the perspective of HOPE VI staff, it is important that they define an economic development agenda. The description of such an effort in the proposal was rudimentary. The same description in the RFP for Mission Main redevelopment was equally vague. The treatment in the RFP of this area calls on the bidder to not only present a creative strategic plan for economic development and social services simultaneously, but also to present an organizational plan to define not only their involvement, but also that of the BHA.

There is a basic step missing from this process, and I would argue that this step is a decision-on the part of the demonstration project's source of vision and oversight, BHA/HOPE VI staff, as to whether or not the Boston URD will be utilized as a community-building tool. If they decide their responsibility to the project rests primarily with the provision of livable housing stock catering to a mixed-income population, than this entire discussion is irrelevant. However, if the comprehensiveness of revitalization stressed throughout this process is still a programmatic goal, then an investment in long term planning dedicated to realizing economic development initiatives must be made.

These organizational complications are no doubt limiting, yet the more fundamental question is where to find a source of the initiative to implement these activities. For this reason, efforts in tenant capacity-building should, at one point, address the process by which residents interact with BHA/HOPE VI staff. Residents must be equipped to discuss substantive issues and to better represent a resident-developed vision to their collaborative partners, who will eventually be comprised by private sector managers. If the residents were organized and able to solicit

outside funding or to mobilize alternative resources, the model's organizational shortcomings and built-in pressures would not seem so insurmountable. The most important next step is to build the interest among residents, and to involve them in program design, as meaningfully as they were involved in the proposal-writing phase of the URD. Clearly much of the necessary initiative should be coming from residents, but the responsibility of introducing these strategies and facilitating their development should be placed on HOPE VI economic development resources and staff.

IV Description and Institutional Requirements of Proposed Economic Development Program Models

A HOPE VI Economic Development Program

The institutional structure of the authority, namely its primary role as a property manager, presents many obstacles to developing and implementing an economic development strategy. Because its operations are housed in an institution that has demonstrated its aversion to procedural reform, the HOPE VI staff has had to be very creative in their effort to carry out even the most basic objectives of the program. The prospect of a privately-managed Mission Main presents another layer of complexity to the type of model that is instituted and contributes to the uncertainty of the BHA's long term role in new programmatic activities, (i.e. beyond the five years of HOPE VI funding.) The redevelopment RFP, for example, does not stipulate a long term role for the BHA/HOPE VI staff in the implementation process. This is the case despite the fact that HOPE VI staff/BHA have been primarily responsible for defining the vision of the entire program and documenting it into measurable development goals.

Yet, the key ingredient to the place-based strategies proposed here are the scale and quality of tenant and Mission Hill neighborhood interest and involvement in advancing the proposed approaches to economic development. "Many partnerships that have emerged throughout the (community) reinvestment movement have proven effective. A critical reason for that success is the fact that community-based organizations nurtured many alliances..." and have been enabled through federal laws such as HUMDA, the federal Fair Housing Act and CRA (Community Reinvestment Act) to negotiate with private industry on a more level playing field. (Squires, 88) However "the basic flaw in both the concept and actual practice of public-private

partnerships in the broader economic development arena is the fundamentally unequal relationship that still characterizes these efforts.” (Squires, 89) This issue is of particular significance to the HOPE VI URD because of the relative lack of constructive, consistent and organized participation on the part of Mission Hill community groups and Mission Main tenants in the general implementation process.

For a number of reasons mainly involving the authority’s organizational structure, the most likely role for the BHA in furthering the economic development URD goals, is to act as facilitator for many varied activities, rather than as source of direct services. The activities proposed in this chapter depend on the residents to handle daily operations and maintain the motivation. Meanwhile, the BHA/HOPE VI staff would maintain their phase two position as overseers of the implementation process, facilitator and public liaison, to compliment and contribute to the residents’ work.

The Significance of Economic Development Initiatives to the Revitalization Effort

This year will be critical to the URD program particularly because of the upcoming construction schedule, which will require a great deal of cooperation and leadership on the part of the BHA and resident groups. Fragmentation of the resident community should be a major concern, especially in light of the eventual, large-scale relocation. Although the BHA’s responsibility is now focused on the property, in examining the program years hence, it will be important to demonstrate the effectiveness of HOPE VI in serving the original community that organized to support the BHA proposal in 1993. In the earlier stages of the demonstration program, the activity in the social and community services area has served several purposes, not

the least of which was to foster communication between BHA/HOPE VI staff and residents. During this time of transition, activity in the area of economic development will help galvanize a sense of community and collective investment in HOPE VI. It will also help to keep those residents who will leave the sight involved in the process, “maintaining the cohesive residential community through and beyond the redevelopment period.” (BHA₃, 4)

One of the original proposal’s goals that is restated in the redevelopment RFP is to reintegrate Mission Main with the broader Mission Hill neighborhood. The program’s goal to achieve comprehensive revitalization will be furthered by economic development initiatives which have the potential to compliment the site-based activities and to provide continuity to the renovation and social services components. By aggressively pursuing these initiatives, the redevelopment team will also communicate to residents through action that the URD is entering a progressive stage of implementation. Activities in this area will also foster a sense of shared goals for Mission Main and Mission Hill residents, especially commercial renters and property owners of the neighborhood who have historically considered themselves at odds with the public housing residents. Participants will be encouraged by self-interest and concern for the community to take advantage of opportunities for constructive exchange and collaboration. This is important for several reason, particularly for the positive or in the very least, better-informed impression participants will impart on one another.

Another element to this historic neighborhood conflict is its lasting effects on the local housing market. Good housing stabilizes neighborhoods, which lowers the risk to investors of commercial ventures, making projects far more attractive. (Kieschnick/Parzan, 6) However, many experts in the field of public housing claim that the potential of public housing to provide

viable, safe and permanent housing has been consistently compromised by policy decisions aimed at protecting private housing markets. In addition to better relations, the potential for this project to take on the qualities of a shared neighborhood development experience will facilitate future attempts to introduce affordable housing to the area. This project has the promise to represent the guiding principle around which a larger neighborhood development effort is organized. Ultimately, the HOPE VI URD presents an opportunity to bridge substantial gaps in the Mission Hill neighborhood.

Managing Expectations

Economic development programs are time and resource-intensive, and they do not produce short term gains that are readily measurable, all of which work against the structure of HOPE VI URD. This is not an argument against taking on these initiatives. Rather, it is a compelling reason to invest heavily in a quality program design, before committing resources. This demonstration program must produce tangible results that indicate the improvement of living conditions for residents and the surrounding neighborhood. In order to be developed effectively, these initiatives require regular evaluation and consistent incorporation of innovations back into program design. Yet, it is unclear whether the BHA is willing to consider more aggressive and varied approaches to economic development, much less to build into the project such resource-intensive measures.

Six million dollars, the amount of HOPE VI funds allotted to both the social service and economic development components of the project, is not a great deal of money to affect the community-wide, development-driven changes HOPE VI staff have articulated as goals. This is true especially given that this amount must cover the often costly, social and community services

initiatives, as well as the economic development work, and furthermore, it is unclear how these funds will be divided between the two activities or even how much of the funds have already been spent. Therefore, the project's ability to leverage outside resources will prove integral to its success. Guidelines for evaluating implementation procedures years hence must be set as soon as possible, but with an understanding of the depth of resources needed to realize economic development strategies.

Economic Development Models: Short and Long Term Action

I have selected the following economic development models to explore as potential HOPE VI initiatives:

Proposed Models for Study and Program Development Strategy

- Job Readiness and Placement Clearinghouse;
- Small-Scale Commercial Strip Development along Tremont Street;
- Training and Technical Assistance to Mission Hill Entrepreneurs.

The first strategy is an expanded approach to job training that incorporates several key components: both the regular cooperation of local employers in setting curriculum and committing jobs to program graduates; and the continued provision of support services by the BHA to compliment and reinforce the training programs. The second is an exploration of commercial strip development along Tremont Street in the context of: the upcoming physical renovation to the site and the subsequent mixed-income resident profile after the initial rent-up; ongoing neighborhood development projects; and speculative activity. The third initiative focuses on the provision of entrepreneurial assistance to Mission Hill residents with experience and/or interest in small business development.

A. Job Training and Clearinghouse Program Components

Among the strategies that the BHA/HOPE VI staff may elect to implement, either singly or in combination include on or off-site, large-scale, single provider job training; to continue out-sourcing job training contract by contract with providers who may or may not gear programs to Mission Main residents; or to provide a referral service designed to build upon maximizing resident's access to and participation in existing local offerings. The model proposed in this study is the a combination of the second and third initiatives listed above.

The following is a list of the key institutional requirements of this proposed job training program:

1. An employer, BHA/HOPE VI and service provider partnership;
2. Expanded case management services to include residents participating in economic development activities;
3. A responsive and capable information gathering, referral and clearinghouse component.

1. A HOPE VI Job Training Partnership

As federal revenues diminish, public/private partnerships have become the rallying cry for economic development professionals throughout the United States. (Porter 1989) These joint efforts are seen as integral for continued and expanded economic development activity. (Squires 91) The forms that these partnership may take are varied. In the field of job training, they may range from formal organizations of executives of leading businesses working directly with public officials to set workforce policy guidelines, to private non profit job training practitioners who essentially provide a labor force search and human development service to employers who simply agree to hire their program graduates.

Considering current HOPE VI leadership, job training is the model most likely to be further developed in the shortest amount of time. This effort is already well under way as an extension of the social and community services initiative. In the short term, a partnership between local training providers, HOPE VI staff and prospective employers must be established. This was the conclusion to which both Professors Frank Levy and Aixa Cintron's Urban Labor Markets class and the spring '95 roundtable with other MIT faculty, local service/training providers and the Medical Academic and Scientific Community Organization (MASCO) arrived. This approach seeks to link potential employers to the training process and to get them to commit to providing employment for trainees.

Throughout this endeavor, the connection between training and actual jobs and employers will prove integral to success. The Boston Technical Center (BTC) established as the training arm of EDIC in 1978, has built an entire program out of this philosophy. Their strength, contends the Director, Steve Bonkowski, lies in their ability to involve employers throughout every stage of training delivery from curriculum development, to participant selection and ultimately through to permanent placement. In order to draw this level of commitment from employers, their program must offer them a substantial return based on their "enlightened self-interest." (Squires) The program must be equipped to appeal to their strictly business interest in locating skilled and reliable employees, and be coupled with an opportunity to contribute to public well-being. This conclusion regarding the benefits of joining business sense and the desire to affect social benefits is reinforced by a report of a pilot program in Alabama that links employers to welfare recipients in an attempt to link them to job opportunities. The incentive

system to private businesses of this program , the report found, worked in much the same way.

(NPR)

The benefits to program participants of employer involvement are manifold. The participation of employers contributes to the participants' preparation not only for the work itself, but also for the work-place environment. On the advice of their advisory council of employers, the BTC job training day is structured to simulate a typical work day. In addition, a weekly internship experience, also recommended by the advisory board, helped participants prepare for the rigors of the work place and also to stay interested in the program by relating real life circumstances to their training. In addition, if employers are involved throughout the process, they are far more likely to contribute valuable resources, such as internship placements and permanent jobs. "Successful local reinvestment efforts offer promise for the future. But that future is clouded by recent trends towards centralization, globalization and homogenization of the nation's financial industries and the push for deregulation, justified" as essential for meeting foreign competition through an efficiency capital investment advantage.(Squires 83) These national trends that blur physical and profession boundaries make it increasingly difficult for communities to hold corporations accountable for community reinvestment. Therefore the appeal to employers as regular collaborators and as a regular source of job following training will have to offer substantial cost and human development benefits.

2. HOPE VI Social Service and Job Training Coordination

Among job training policy makers and practitioners, a tension between differing approaches job training has always existed. The two basic approaches of this debate are those strategies that stress immediate placement and those that provide longer-term investments in

basic education, or other inputs that are designed to contribute to human capital and not necessarily to quick placement. The debate has heightened in this more challenging, fiscally-lean environment. It is unclear which approach is more beneficial, mainly because participants do not begin their training at the same point of their development. For some people a short skills-brush up and a solid potential job connection is enough. For those with very limited educational attainment, a basic skills program may yield longer-term earnings benefits. In the case of BTC, participants are not offered support services such as child-care, or transportation cost subsidy, although the programs are rigorous and time-intensive. It is an exclusionary program in the sense that the acceptance rate is roughly 14%, (for the medical-secretary program.) Although participants are not required to have a high school diploma or a GED, the program is not geared toward those with significant barriers to employment.

However, among Mission Main residents, it seems clear that low skills attainment and lack of access to information about job offerings is only a component of a greater mismatch. In targeting services, it seems by the resident profile that special attention should be given to meeting the employment readiness needs of women and youth and young adults of both genders. A preliminary analysis of employed residents revealed that those who claim employment are somewhat older than those who do not. In order to target youth, the case management/clearinghouse system must not only remain current with service offerings, but also maintain a relationship with schools. This is a population with special needs, and any program designed to improve their job readiness, should build resources into it's design that address those needs that translate into obstacles to employment. Although residents do not fit a single profile, a significant portion of this population will require case management to guide people through the

system, mainly to ensure that obstacles to employment are reduced as much as possible and to track people before they fall out of the training system. For this reason collaboration with the already advanced social and community services branch of the URD is vital, specifically with the case management approach.

The idea of URD case management in social services originated from a resource allocation efficiency initiative in early 1995. One of the major parameters of the HOPE VI support services guidelines is to avoid replicating services. Should the BHA choose to institute a referral system, a cost efficient and overall effective component that the HOPE VI staff can implement at Mission Main given their resources, is an expansion of the comprehensive case management system. Currently, staff from Whittier Street Neighborhood Health Center are under contract with the BHA to provide family counseling services, which monitors people's movement through the service network. From observing the programmatic inputs of the existing human service case management system at Mission Main, this service requires client intake, assessment, placement and ongoing follow-up; a strong provider follow-up and search component to keep abreast of local offerings; coordination of stakeholders; the provision of facilities; and a constant need to leverage HOPE VI funding with private and other public resources to ensure long-term programming.

Informal provider networks work exactly in this way. The Action for Boston Community Development (ABCD) programs that offer medical and business clerical training to residents are now in their second year. The ABCD medical clerical program grew out of an existing life skills program for women called Project Life. The participants of this program, which ultimately sought to prepare residents for work and for community service, were graduated

into the ABCD class. The combination of these offerings would pair the support service and skills training of each program maximizing the effectiveness of each. This collaboration between providers proved critical to the resident's success in the program, because not only they provide the initial information, but also the informal and referral to a graduated program they felt was well-suited to the participants' skill level and interests. This is the function of a case manager, or a jobs counselor, performed by a specific service provider who took the initiative to guide their program participants. A more formal mechanism, that will take the burden and responsibility from the provider should be in place.

In order to ensure maximum effectiveness of economic development and social service initiatives and to clarify their synergistic potential, it is important to separate their functions. Specifically the investments to basic skills training, should be concentrated through the social service arm, through education and pre-vocational programs as well as programs like Career Ladder and Project Life which address personal development issues in the context of preparation for work. Recent economic development activities in Mission have included a range of programs such as job training, and even basic adult education and youth vocational training, summer employment and highly structured volunteer positions. The job training programs that have been offered, however, were incorporated into the scope of the social and community services branch of the plan, under the same model of contracting out for training services. This has been the case namely because of the existing relationships with ABCD and Project Life. The new programming was conceived of as an expansion of services, but not necessarily as a venture into unfamiliar territory which required a different level of experience and oversight to do thoughtfully and well.

Similar to the experience of social service providers, is the difficulty associated with walking a provider through the BHA bureaucracy. Providers must enter into contract with the BHA via an RFP and bidding process, which is time consuming and requires a much longer time frame to implement were they able to dispense with the RFP. Once a system had been discovered that worked fairly well, it is understandable that the social service coordinators, not having a specific mission to institute economic development programs, would simply continue to introduce programs to the site, rather than wait for a period of evaluation. However, as programming years pass less funds will be available for this type of work. The process will be better served by more targeted funding that is tapped into only when the referral personnel has exhausted local offerings for which a particular resident is eligible and interested in pursuing.

3. Information Clearinghouse

In order to effectively target services, the information clearinghouse component must take into consideration the current environment of job training policy. Training programs that are cost-efficient and short term are designed to meet the challenge of shrinking federal subsidy and to involve the private sector by offering services at the same time that its involvement is requested. In a recent RFP for Occupational Skills Training among other services, the Boston Redevelopment Authority/Economic Development and Industrial Corporation, (BRA/EDIC) stipulated that their agency would give preference to “integrated programs designed to develop basic and occupational skills simultaneously and to facilitate job placement within one year.” (BRA/EDIC, 21) These programs must also demonstrate employer influence in the benchmark

competencies and curriculum used in skills training programs. This RFP is reflective of the new environment for human service/job training programs faced with drastic reductions in federal subsidy and with congressional scrutiny of past job training programs specifically the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) and Department of Transitional Assistance (DTA) Employment Service Program (ESP)-funded programs.

Another example of these “leaner times” programs is The One Stop Job Training Center. The Boston Private Industry Council (PIC), was named by the MassJobs council as one of the first Regional Employment Boards to implement these Career Centers, such as The Workplace in downtown Boston. The main impetus for this initiative is to rectify the “fragmentation of the 150 employment and training programs,” and the necessity to supply customer-oriented information,” customer meaning employer.(PIC) This center has become a widely-talked about model of service delivery that is gaining popularity among city officials, mainly because of its ability to engage employers. It is primarily an information clearinghouse, much like I am suggesting should be instituted at Mission Main, with the key difference being that the client is the resident. The employer’s perspective is critical to the process, however, the interest, skills and barriers to employment of individual residents should be the focus of the Mission Main job training information and program evaluation component.

It is important that BHA staff be able to hold providers accountable for the services offered and paid for through HOPE VI funds. However, the establishment of performance criteria before programming will decrease the likelihood of misunderstanding. An element to establishing these performance guidelines is a clear understanding of the pressures faced by providers and their own measures of success. In order to produce this information, the job

training arm of the HOPE VI economic development entity will require flexibility in balancing the separate functions of information gathering responsibilities, strategic planning and service provision.

As integral as job training is to the process of resident empowerment, this approach concentrates on increasing individual residents' income and connection to the mainstream economy, but does not incorporate place-based development concerns. Clearly, there is a need to expand these activities to address the factors that contribute to residents social isolation from the neighboring Mission Hill community and the wealth of dynamic institutional uses in the developments' immediate vicinity.

B. Commercial Strip Development

The purpose of this discussion of commercial strip development is not to describe a specific strategy for accomplishing retail development, which clearly is not included in the parameters of the URD. Instead, this section describes the importance of current neighborhood development projects to the URD process and to identify areas of potential linkage. In order to present these opportunities meaningfully, this section includes a discussion of the key organizational requirements to realizing such an initiative at Mission Main. I use the specific context of the Ledge site development and subsequent small business development along Tremont Street to suggest areas of Mission Main involvement in greater neighborhood development.

One of the primary goals of the revitalization effort is to reknit residents of Mission Main into the economic mainstream of the community. The traditional approach to meeting this goal is to improve resident's earnings. In addition to improving individuals' earnings potential, it

is imperative that they feel invested in the well-being of the Mission Hill neighborhood. Place-based development initiatives, therefore are central to the URD's comprehensiveness goals and its neighborhood development concerns. Likewise, the renovation of the site provides the entire Mission Hill community with an enormous resource on which to build. In order to realize this synergistic relationship, some entity should be in charge of fostering relationships and facilitating collaboration.

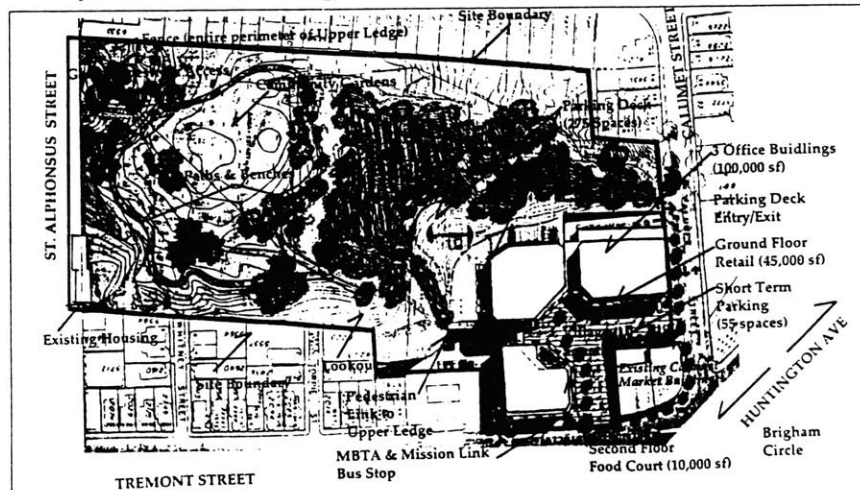
There is some debate as to what kinds of outcomes constitute economic growth. Some practitioners posit that the real key to sustained community growth are net purchases by businesses and individuals outside of the area being developed. (Pittman, 4) Much of the development in the Mission Hill neighborhood already draws from a regional market. One of the results of this dependence on local institutions is that Mission Hill is "significantly undeserved...and is losing retail sales to surrounding neighborhoods. With estimated demand for 280,000 square feet and total supply of 55,950, a net (retail) space shortfall of 222,000 square feet is indicated." (Byrne McKinney & Associates, 6) The report cites particular retail demand for supermarket/grocery stores, apparel, food service (restaurants), entertainment and gifts/personal items. A preliminary step to addressing this community need is to incorporate the development of residential commercial uses into the Mission Hill Concept Plan, cited in Chapter 2, which currently only outlines institutional expansion as economic development areas.

For the purposes of this study, the idea of commercial development along Tremont Street in the context of the HOPE VI URD refers to upgrades and expansion of existing mixed-use development businesses between Parker Street (perhaps beyond) and Huntington Avenue. The development along Tremont Street between Huntington and Columbus Avenue, just beyond

Parker Street, consists primarily of private enterprises, some of them marginal, that serve the primary residential market. Tremont Street is a well-traveled road with a broad mix of uses from a church, institutional and private residential, and mixed retail services. This strip is nestled between two major revitalization strategies Mission Main URD and the Ledge Site, coordinated by Mission Hill Neighborhood Housing Services (NHS.)

NHS is a non-profit CBO which has spearheaded the Ledge Site community planning process to produce a shared vision for the site's redevelopment. The Ledge site is a triangular property, partially covered by an urban wild owned by Harvard University, on the corner of Tremont and Calumet Streets, in Brigham Circle. The current development proposal for the site calls for the renovation of the existing underused corner mall into a multi-use, office and retail project. This process is ongoing, and has developed to the developer selection phase. However, NHS has also been engaged with providing existing commercial tenants with technical assistance and organizational support. This is a prime opportunity to tap residents into an existing community project that involves Mission Main, not as the focus, but as an important element to the Mission Hill neighborhood.

Currently NHS is also in the process of reinvigorating a Tremont Street merchants'



Site Plan for the Ledge Site that emerged from the community planning process at Workshop 4.

association, providing them with small business assistance. They hope to form partnerships between existing businesses and expand local offerings. In a recent Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation (MDRC) effort to develop a place-based public housing and neighboring community revitalization demonstration project, researchers plan to test the notion that saturation rather than sheer quantity is more important to revitalization success. Quality and the concentration of penetration into a community, theoretically, will determine the project's ability to change the culture of the neighborhood from one of defensive oppositions to one of integration and shared community development vision. The cohesiveness and concentration of purpose will, form the foundation for broader development. This idea is mirrored in the Working Capital model of small business assistance, which uses this idea as a primary organizing principle for their peer lending training services for small businesses.

The critical mass of potential candidates for training in peer help and business development already exists to proceed with more aggressive capacity-building measures. Possible approaches to engaging these Tremont Street merchants in the ongoing activities of the two revitalization efforts are assistance in business operations improvements and improved access to capital. Instead of allowing the promise of increased property values, following the two revitalization efforts to push out existing businesses, a more proactive approach should be initiated. Mission Main residents, like any other neighborhood constituency, should be involved in the process of determining needed local services and in planning ahead for the retail needs of the full occupancy, mixed-income residential community to come. This is especially true for those residents interested in forming a micro-enterprise or expanding their own existing home-run business.

A recurring theme in the debate over inner-city commercial development is the perception of crime as a cost prohibitive obstacle to development. A representative of Mission Hill Neighborhood Housing Services said as much regarding NHS' ongoing effort to realize the Ledge Site project. He states that much of the work he does is to combat the image of Mission Hill the neighborhood as nothing more than an extension of a severely distressed public housing development. The prospect of the URD not only eliminates this obstacle, but it creates a local strength on which draw in future development endeavors. This potential synergistic relationship must somehow be maximized.

C. Technical Assistance to Mission Main Entrepreneurs

This model provokes many of the same questions as the commercial strip development model. However entrepreneurial assistance will require a great deal more initiative on the part of the economic development entity and residents themselves to generate and maintain momentum. It is important to the current phase of the revitalization effort because it provides a mechanism through which residents can be prepared both to provide required services associated with redevelopment, and to take part on a different level in the ongoing neighborhood commercial development initiatives discussed above. This is a small scale activity that should be incorporated within the scope of economic development activities as a mechanism for building on residents' skills and interests. In fact, this model will require close coordination with the support services arm to reinforce any benefits generated through training and coordination.

The original proposal called for small business development, (which when described, in more detail, appeared to be micro-enterprise development) and youth entrepreneurial

development as prime components of their strategy. Efforts are already underway to develop a strategy to include resident job participation goals in all phases of development. Again, citing the example of Harbor Point, Housing Opportunities Unlimited, the management entity, has made strides in presenting entrepreneurial opportunities to residents related to the property management effort. Residents were trained to take on the provision of services such as apartment cleaning, and other ongoing maintenance and laundry services. With the federal Section (3) guidelines stipulating that a proportion of jobs in every stage of redevelopment should be given to residents, this property management approach to entrepreneurial development creates an opportunity to extend these benefits beyond the years of construction and to further impart to residents a sense of ownership and connection to the revitalization process..

Formal training in entrepreneurial development would specifically benefit those residents who already try to supplement their income by operating a small-business from their homes. It is complimentary to the commercial strip development endeavor because it offers the community an opportunity to constructively link existing businesses and marginalized, but skillful public housing residents. Peer help models can be utilized to structure mutually beneficial relationships. In addition, the entrepreneurial assistance, like most other programs offered through HOPE VI are not limited to Mission main residents, and would therefore provide a resource to the commercial tenants of abutting properties.

Like job training, there is a HOPE VI precedent for this type of activity. This past summer, the BHA attempted to introduce a Jr. Achievement program targeted to adults. This youth program is designed to teach participants basic micro-economics concepts and personal financial planning, basically “real world economics.” Providers soon noticed the interest among

adults for a similar program, and began to form a new curriculum. This Adult Jr. Achievement would teach the same principles of the earlier version, but would also attempt to organize Mission Main existing micro-enterprises into a cooperative business.

Several difficulties ensued, namely: reluctance on the part of participants to disclose their activities to the BHA; the complexity of funding a program that forces the BHA to forego rent collection regulations; difficulty in organizing the different types of businesses into a single cooperative enterprise; and the inability to bridge the gap between the Alice Heyward Taylor tenants and the Mission Main tenants. The program, however, fell apart because the residents could not agree on a cooperative venture, nor could the organizers get past the organizational obstacle of the BHA rent calculation policy in their effort to formally engage on-site entrepreneurs. Ultimately, residents who supplement their income with an informal business, were unwilling to risk increased rent or even eviction, despite the prospect of a partial ownership of a potentially successful enterprise.

The lessons from this experience include the importance of a liaison between residents and the BHA who can effectively represent the official position over informal activity and the availability of resources that are not directly from the BHA. Clearly the impetus to form a collaborative company should come from the residents themselves and not from the organizing entity. In addition, the technical assistance should come from a professional staff specifically trained in micro-enterprise development. However the fact that it happened at all is encouraging because it demonstrates that the HOPE VI staff are responsive to the resident's requests for services and as a result are asking more from their service provider partners, namely creativity. It is necessary to build on this experience, although it may already be too late to attract the original

set of micro-enterprise owners. The Women's Institute for Housing and Economic Development runs the Business Opportunity Program which stresses "a cooperative, holistic, and community-based approach to enterprise development, rather than a competitive one." (Women's Institute, 11) A model like this, which stresses the cooperative component of enterprise development specific to the revitalization process would build upon the experience of Adult Jr. Achievement.

The question of the source of leadership and coordination also applies to this model. This initiative, like commercial development should be framed in the context of a greater community building effort. Entrepreneurial residents may be matched up with Tremont Street merchants who have completed their training, in a peer training model. This effort would give residents practical experience, at the same time improving their connection to neighborhood resources and market-rate residents. Again the key to this initiative is coordination. If another entity such as NHS continue their work with merchants and agrees that a connection to Mission Main would be mutually beneficial, a HOPE VI/BHA point person would be designated to incorporate this program into the ongoing site-based entrepreneurial training program.

URD Implementation Implications

HOPE VI staff are in the unusual position in community development circles, of possessing the funding but not the clear sense of what must be done. Clearly, they have an enormous task in front of them, and it is understandable that the sheer scope of this endeavor would convince them to abandon more resource-intensive and complex economic development strategies. In addition, because these strategies require long term planning and in this case relies upon the successful completion of current physical renovation plans, the role of the BHA in coordinating this effort is tenuous. First of all, from ongoing discussions with staff, it is unclear

whether the institutional will exists to pursue or even simply contribute to the implementation of a more varied approach to economic development. In the event that the BHA has neither the interest nor the resources to do participate, where might other sources of leadership and capacity be found?

As has been suggested by the findings of earlier chapters, the BHA/HOPE VI staff is limited in providing the coordination needed to pursue any of these avenues. Whether this function involves facilitating collaboration between the social service case management system and the jobs counselor model discussed above, or ensuring that Mission Main residents are represented on neighborhood development committees, this economic development arm must provide timely, multiple services.

One possible source of outside support in this capacity-building endeavor is the EDIC/Boston. In a letter expressing support for the URD application, EDIC committed \$150,000 each of the five years in funds and targeted access to existing programs for Mission Main and BHA residents.¹ In addition, EDIC pledged the provision of technical assistance in developing program service delivery capacity, (mainly in job training and basic education) and “to conducting targeted outreach and referral for BHA residents to existing employment and training, education and support service.” (Snyder) In a recent RFP for basic education and vocational training, the EDIC did in fact specifically site a preference for providers that could effectively target services to BHA residents. Although, the proposed program was not as yet funded through the national Job Training Partnership Act, and it was unclear if it would be in place this fiscal year, the commitment is definitely in place. This offer of technical assistance is an untapped

¹ This commitment was made on the condition of funds availability and demonstration of capacity to provide services in an RFP process.

resource would provide tremendous opportunity to test ideas for a jobs clearinghouse model for BHA/HOPE VI that would avoid duplication and would maintain up-to-date information on current city-wide offerings. Likewise an outside organization that is experienced in either or both entrepreneurial development and capacity-building should be approached to expand the activity already taking place.

But, ultimately, the greatest untapped resource are the residents themselves. The capacity-building effort currently under way must include an economic development component to initiate broader-level discussion of residents interest in pursuing different neighborhood development strategies. In order to create such a dialogue that will translate into action, this process must be facilitated and tied to the URD revitalization effort. In the second phase of implementation it is important to keep residents engaged in the process and to move their participation into a progressive step. Economic development strategies, as suggested in this chapter afford the opportunity and the context to do just that.

V. Conclusions and Recommendations

This study has attempted to explore and document the ways in which economic development strategies are integral to the success of the HOPE VI Boston URD. I have outlined institutional constraints, in general and in particular to the three proposed strategies. Chapter Four describes the key organizational capacity requirements for each strategy, as well as current local resources and opportunities to assist in realizing these program models.

From interviews with HOPE VI staff, I learned that one of the main reasons that economic development strategies, beyond job training, were not given a great deal of attention in the first two years of programming, is their belief that these activities lie beyond the scope of project. However, I would argue that these strategies are integral to the URD program itself and should become prominent features of the Boston URD in its second phase of implementation. Only by addressing the root causes of the resident's social and economic isolation can this grant succeed in revitalizing the development, rather than merely pushing out the existing population to make room for marginally higher income people. Only by pursuing economic development strategies can the revitalization effort address the greater HUD key objectives embodied in the HOPE VI initiative, namely that: the project should augment housing choices for residents; participation of the broader community should be incorporated in the final product; neighborhood-wide rather, than development-only impacts should be realized; the project should leverage substantial private investment and additional public resources; and the effort should empower residents to gain opportunity for self sufficiency. (BHA4, cover letter)

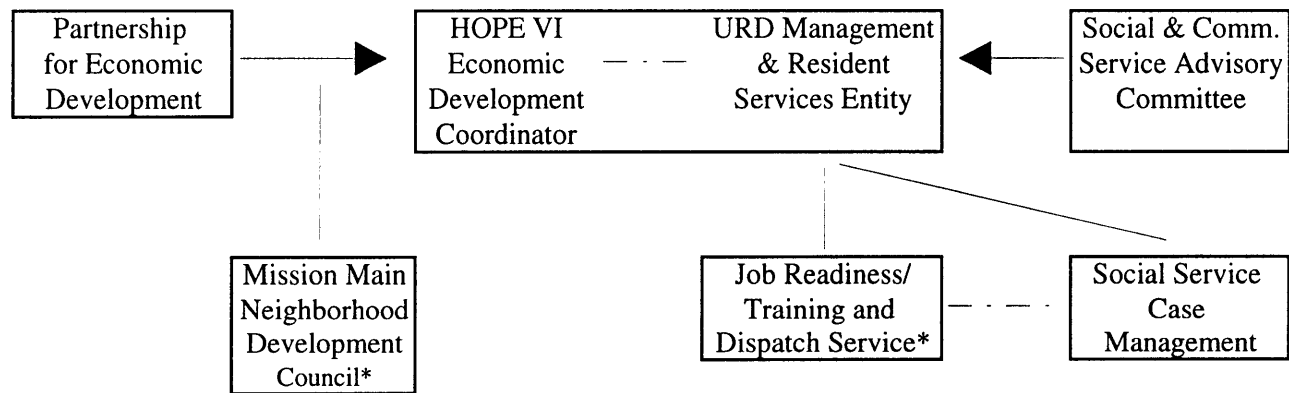
The URD Proposed Organizational Plan for Economic Development

Only by aggressively pursuing economic development strategies through a well-developed vision, can the URD achieve the level of comprehensive renovation stressed in the proposal. For reasons specific to the process itself, the greatest gains in this area, from the perspective of the BHA, can be met by focusing effort on creating a body that will assume the responsibility of overseeing the economic development endeavors beyond the five years of HOPE VI programming. Therefore, the BHA should focus on utilizing available funds where it is essential to building the infrastructure which will survive the five years of HOPE VI demonstration programming, and not exclusively toward service contracting. Furthermore, at least in the redevelopment years, the BHA should retain the primary responsibility of facilitating the economic development activities, specifically in guiding the process of strategy design and implementation.

In a recent report to the Ford Foundation, the researchers found that the strength of the networks of local resources was a key element of success. (Harrison, vii) In fact, the evidence leading them to this conclusion was so profound that they recommend measures that would ensure the integrity of such networks over other approaches that focus exclusively upon building the capacity of individual CBO's or community development corporations (CDC's). Further, the study concludes that improved networking "reinforces CDC's traditional efforts to build neighborhood-oriented small businesses and housing, and finance social services that address the consequences of urban poverty and racial discrimination." (Harrison, vii) It seems that the

Figure 5-1

URD Proposed Organization Plan For Economic Development



*New proposed entity.

— . — Operations Collaboration
— ► Advisory
— Oversight

capacity of the individual organization may not be as integral to its success, as its ability to make its presence felt at the neighborhood level.

The URD Proposed Organizational Plan for Economic Development assumes that the model for resident social and community services, including economic development programming will be directly administered by the developer/management entity, (as is implied in the redevelopment RFP.) The main features of the following organizational plan are an active role for the HOPE VI Economic Development Coordinator in program development, especially in coordinating the involvement of private industry through the Partnership for Economic Development; a clear separation of basic human services and economic development initiatives in administrative oversight; the creation of a dispatch and follow-up service dedicated to connecting residents to city-wide job training opportunities; and the creation of a Mission Main Neighborhood Development Council. In the short term, HOPE VI staff duties would be restricted to facilitating the board functions for the Partnership, brokering agreements between job training entities (particularly those under contract with the BHA) and private industry members; and to contributing toward the ongoing development of the resident-driven Neighborhood Development Council. The service arm coordinated by the management entity, meanwhile, would be primarily responsible for administering the direct services portion and ensuring the existing case management system's collaboration with the proposed Dispatch service.

The HOPE VI Economic Development Coordinator would convene and follow-up with members of the Partnership for Economic Development, which would include members of the

job training providers, private industry, resident representatives from the Mission Main Neighborhood Development Council, the Dispatch and Training personnel and if appropriate, the members of organizations providing micro-enterprise and small-business development assistance. Likewise, the Management/Resident Services entity would continue to convene the Social and Community Service Advisory Committee which has been comprised of service providers and residents. The management would also directly oversee the day-to-day operations of the proposed job training and dispatch service, although the planning contributing toward program development would continually be informed by the collaboration of the HOPE VI Economic Development Coordinator and the Partnership link. The Dispatch and Training service will collaborate with the Social Service Case Manager to ensure a continuum of services to residents participating in the job training programs that will contribute to their success.

The training dispatch and the neighborhood development council models allow HOPE VI staff the flexibility and the necessary oversight position to overcome some of the BHA-specific organizational obstacles to implementation efforts. Although a portion of the job training services will have to be paid for by HOPE VI funds through the already familiar contract process, the dispatch model still maximizes revitalization resources by building upon the existing local training service network. (A particular resource in this effort are training programs offered through EDIC/ESP which has agreed to target BHA residents for their JTPA-funded programs.) This model is less expensive than instituting one training center for Mission Main residents which must address the range of professional development levels that they possess. The major fixed costs are bypassed, such as facility expenditures, training materials and general operating

costs, which tend to run at 19% of a program's budget. Instead, these expenses are paid for by the service provider if the resident qualifies for their no charge services, or they are paid at a much lower rate afforded by the organization's ability to achieve its economy of scale.

This model also recognizes that it is important that strategic economic development planning functions be separated from the social and community services arm of the revitalization process. Although there is some overlap in service delivery, the separation will contribute to the development of a coherent agenda and strategic plan, as well as to clarify the programs' synergistic potential.

Perhaps most importantly, the focus of this model represents a shift in the current implementation direction from out-sourcing the economic development function. Instead, it is proposed that HOPE VI invest in an infrastructure of partnerships that will survive beyond the URD funding years to continue implementing economic development initiatives. This model for organizational coordination concentrates on the process of goal and program development and on the cultivation of indigenous leadership.

Preliminary Implementation Steps

- *Develop a set of economic development goals and objectives.*

First of all the development/management team, in collaboration with HOPE VI and resident representatives, should iron out their economic development agenda to decide what is realistic, and what are they even interested in pursuing. For the job readiness and entrepreneurial assistance initiatives, HOPE VI staff must develop a very clear sense of who it is they are serving. The current effort, on the part of MIT students and HOPE VI staff to produce a survey

instrument to collect information on base level skills among residents will assist enormously in this endeavor. However, once this information is readily available, it should be applied to a broader economic development agenda with specific goals and objectives. This is especially important because HOPE VI is a high visibility demonstration program that will be heavily scrutinized. Therefore, a basis for measuring success must be developed early on.

In order to accomplish this, several questions regarding possible approaches must be answered: Will programs focus on job placement or more rigorous and expensive job skills training programs? How to link support services to this initiative? What programs in the local area offer job readiness programs? Would residents be eligible for tuition assistance? (to avoid paying for services for which residents would otherwise qualify.) What will the mechanism for referral look like, considering that it must provide current information, it must be systematic and proactive and it must include a case management component? and finally Is HOPE VI staff concerned about the long term viability of the job readiness initiative and if so, how will they ensure a continuation of services beyond the five years of funding?

For the area of job training it is particularly important to set specific goals that are made very public. This will engender a sense of collective effort in overseeing the training process and it will also put pressure on providers to assume accountability for their program's outcome. It is especially the case with the dispatch model that there is a danger of displacing the ends by the means, or allowing the program's focus to become limited to providing the training itself and forgetting about the ultimate goal of employment. The goal of permanent employment must be built into the program, the responsibility for which would be shared by a broad range of stakeholders. A goal that I would suggest is to place at least one person from each low income

household who expresses interest in program participation, in a permanent job by the end of the URD program. Likewise the Mission Main Neighborhood Development Council may set as a goals the representation of Mission Main residents, not just task force members, on every major community board in Mission Hill and the creation of at least one resident cooperative enterprise.

- *Expand the scope of the capacity-building effort to include the development of a resident - driven organization dedicated to involving residents in the neighborhood development endeavors, The Mission Main Neighborhood Development Council.*

The effort to effect permanent incremental gains should begin with the development of leadership and infrastructure. The search for this leadership should begin with a discussion of the significance of place-based economic development initiatives to the entire revitalization process. The stake holders must be identified and a process for collaboration developed. Most likely it will be necessary to stress potential areas for mutual gain in order to entice people to the table.

This may be accomplished by building a resident leadership base in economic development initiatives from the broader capacity-building process. This effort should eventually move beyond the exclusively MMTTF organizational development focus, to engage a broader group of residents. Perhaps, those residents who were involved in the Adult Jr. Achievement workshop, would be willing to contribute to this process and eventually take on active roles in the proposed Mission Main Economic Development Council. And further, as stated above, the development of this organization must build in organizational goals such as Mission Main representation on neighborhood committees and/or a partnership with a micro-

enterprise organization equipped to provide technical assistance to at least ten resident entrepreneurs.

- *Re-establish the Partnership for Economic Development.*

This organization was named in the original proposal as a mechanism through which private industry and neighboring institutional stakeholders would be engaged in the ongoing revitalization effort. This organization was never really given a chance because HOPE VI staff were far too busy with actual on-site direct service coordination to foster the advisory components of the program. This connection must be reestablished, and the HOPE VI Economic Development Coordinator should be the point person.

Although the different models require separate levels of institutional capacity for program implementation, the role of the BHA as a facilitating entity will be similar. Clearly, partnerships with outside organizations represent the key to success. In addition, HOPE VI staff must demonstrate an ability to package deals, mobilize various resources, and connect residents to, rather than provide direct services. From the example of BTC, it is apparent that a small staff can handle a large program. The Director states that they can get away with it because of their experience and established relationships with employers. The way to address the issue of legitimacy is through the HOPE VI name, which is already in its 2nd year of programming and has had visible successes in the social service area. Through the strength of an established single-purpose advisory committee and regular evaluation and reincorporation of findings in program this entity should achieve organizational responsiveness.

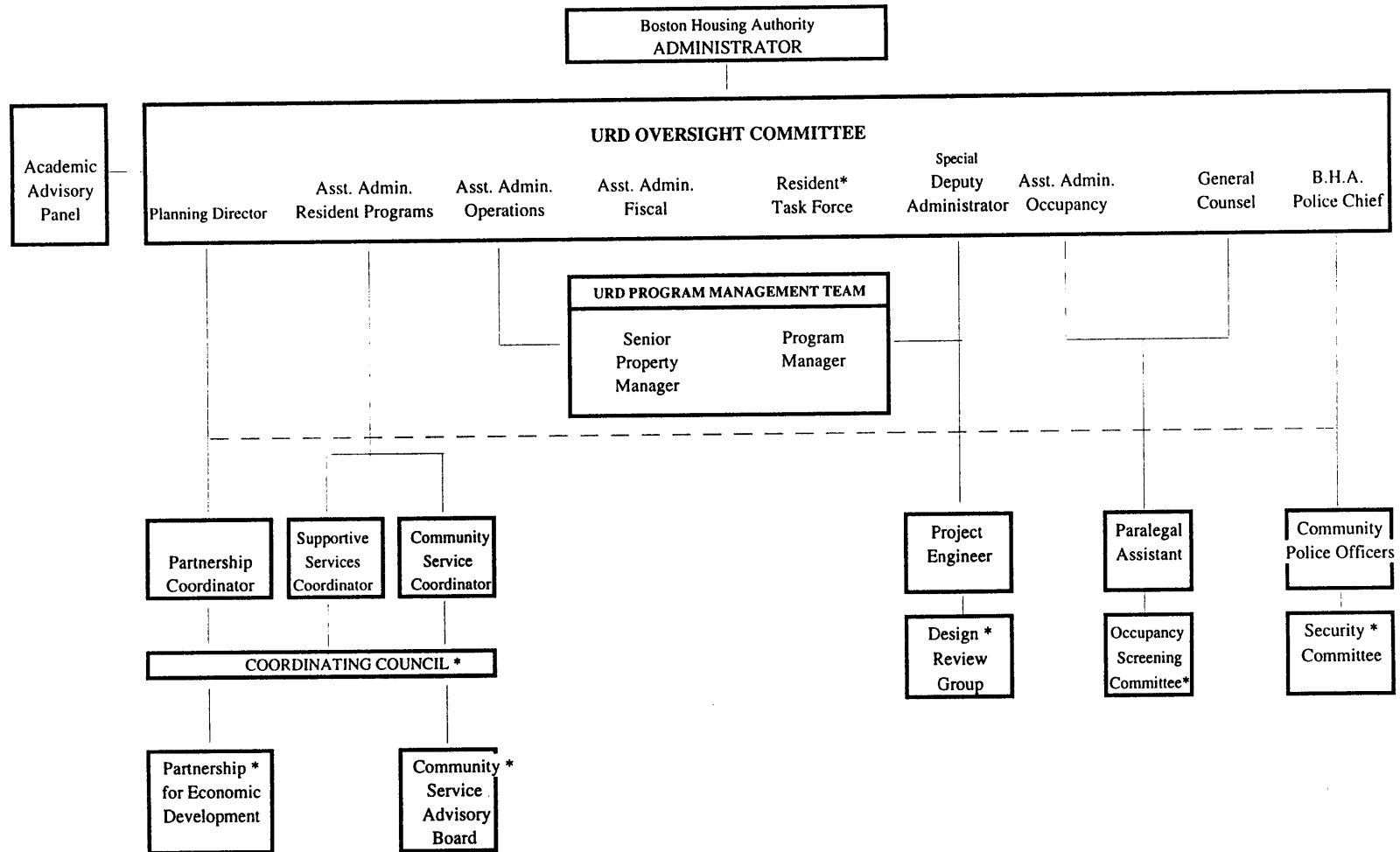
- *Build upon case management system to support and compliment job readiness and training model.*

The dispatch model of job readiness delivery is the most cost-effective method of reaching the most residents. Because of fiscal constraints the HOPE VI program can not continue out-sourcing training programs for residents and demanding little by way of accountability. Instead, efforts should be made to build upon the substantial investments already made in a social service infrastructure to facilitate a synergistic relationship with the job training effort. In addition the BHA should set the standard for the regular evaluative function and resident participation in planning efforts.

Appendix A. INTERVIEWS

- **Steve Bonkowski**, Director, Boston Technical Center, 18 April, 1996.
- **Dave Connelly**, President of Housing Opportunities Unlimited: property managers of Harbor Point. Telephone interview, Spring '95.
- **Deborah Goddard**, HOPE VI Program Director, Boston Housing Authority, 16 February, 1996.
- **Frank La Verde**, Owner of La Verde's mini-mart in MIT Student Center. Interviewed for a Spring '95 study of potential retail development strategies for Racine Court in Mission Main.
- **Janet McGill**, HOPE VI Economic Development Coordinator, Boston Housing Authority, 14 March, 1996.
- **Glen Ohlund**, Mission Hill Neighborhood Housing Services, 26 April, 1996.
- **Mary Reed**, Former HOPE VI Social and Community Services Coordinator, Boston Housing Authority, Summer '95.
- **Mike Vance**, ABCD Employment Services Coordinator, 18 April, 1996.

Boston Housing Authority Urban Revitalization Demonstration Program Organization Plan



* Resident Task Force Involvement

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